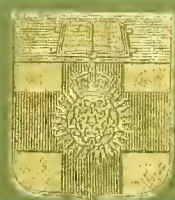


THE
HISTORY OF MILETUS

ADELAIDE GUYNN DUNHAM, M.A.



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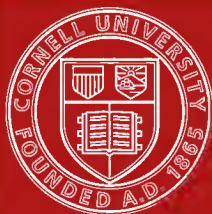
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History of Miletus, down to the Anabasis



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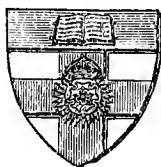
THE HISTORY OF MILETUS

THE HISTORY OF MILETUS

*DOWN TO
THE ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER*

BY
ADELAIDE GLYNN DUNHAM, M.A.

THESIS APPROVED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER
OF ARTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



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PREFACE

THE first draft of this work was in the form of a thesis which was approved for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of London in 1913. It has now been revised and a few additions have been made.

The following considerations led to the choice of this subject.

Miletus was admittedly one of the leading commercial cities of the Greek world, but the exact nature of her commerce has never been investigated in detail. Moreover, although the important part played in the history of the ancient Greeks by geographical and economic conditions has of late years aroused much interest and discussion, yet there has hitherto been no systematic attempt to trace the influence of these conditions upon the development of Miletus previous to 334 B.C. These deficiencies I have endeavoured to supply.

It was unnecessary to pass beyond 334 B.C., for the history of Miletus subsequent to that date has been fully treated of by Haussoullier in his *Études sur l'Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*. Similarly, Milesian literature, philosophy and art have already been discussed by other writers, and therefore I have only touched upon them so far as was necessary to show their connection with the economic development of the city.

I have made considerable use of the results of recent excavations, both on the site of Miletus and elsewhere. My indebtedness to modern writers is acknowledged in the notes.

My warmest thanks are due to Mr. M. O. B. Caspari for his kind encouragement and many valuable criticisms, and to the Trustees of the Reid Fund at Bedford College, who have made it possible for me to publish the work.

A. G. D.

February, 1915.

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THE HISTORY OF MILETUS

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY

ALTHOUGH different views are held as to the exact nature of her commerce, it is a well-established fact that Miletus was a commercial city, and such being the case, a consideration of her geographical position is a necessary preliminary to an investigation of her history.

The city stood on the west coast of Asia Minor, upon a promontory on the northern side of the peninsula between the Gulfs of Latmus and Bargylieticus.¹ This peninsula, triangular in shape, consisted of a number of limestone plateaux, low at the western and broader end, and gradually shelving to an elevation of 500–650 feet at the apex of the triangle. From this point the heights of Grion ran inland into Caria. On the eastern side of the Gulf of Latmus rose Mount Latmus, and on the north-east was the end of the Maeander valley, the mouth of the river being at the most prosperous period of Milesian history almost opposite the city.

Across the plateaux, communication between Miletus and south-west Caria must have been comparatively easy;¹ and there is evidence of intercourse

¹ *Vide* Map I.

with this region throughout Milesian history.¹ But this district was not extensive and was shut in by mountains. Only one rough track led across Mount Grion,² and the route from Mylasa to the Marsyas valley by way of Labranda was the only convenient means of communication with the interior.³

Mount Latmus was not traversed by any path, and the two by which it was turned were circuitous and so rough as to be useless for horses and mules.⁴ One led from Heraclea by a detour westward to Myus and the Maeander valley; the other ran from the same town by the south flank of the mountain into Caria, to the Marsyas valley.⁵ There was probably a path between Heraclea and Miletus,⁶ but the latter city was too far from the direct route along the Maeander valley to be readily attacked from the interior of Asia Minor.

While the position of Miletus was well shut off on the south and east, access to the Maeander valley across the water was less difficult; for the river, which by its silt has transformed the Gulf of Latmus into a swampy plain, and which now almost surrounds the site of Miletus, was only ten stades (6000 feet) from the city in the first century A.D.,⁷ and

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 50: Iasus, a colony of Miletus; p. 105: Milesian territory given to Pedasa; pp. 124 sq.: Miletus and the Carian dynasts.

² Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, p. 16.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵ *Vide* Map II.

⁶ *Vide* Map I. Thuc., VIII. 79. 1, speaks of the march of an army by land from Miletus to Mycale: the route was probably *via* Heraclea and Myus.

⁷ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, V. 113.

about three times as far off when Miletus was one of the leading cities of the Greek world.¹

From the mouth of the Maeander a traveller might proceed by several routes.² He might turn northward, and passing between the range of Mycale and Mesogis, make his way to Ephesus. Thence he might journey further along the coast, or strike up the Caÿster valley, across the range of Tmolus by the pass of Kara Bel and thence to Sardis.

Again, he might follow the course of the Maeander for some distance, and then turn south into Caria either by the Marsyas valley or by that of the Harpasus; or he might proceed to the head of the Maeander valley, near the junction of the Lycus with the main stream and the site of the Seleucid city of Laodicea.

From the head of the Maeander valley communication with Phrygia and the East was possible. The exact extent to which such communication was actually carried on will be better considered in the next chapter in connection with the economic development of Miletus; but the above details show that land communication was generally not easy; Miletus was comparatively isolated from the hinterland.

In facilities for sea-borne traffic Miletus possessed unique advantages. Standing upon a promontory which jutted out in a north-easterly direction into

¹ Rayet and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 24. The city is now 9 kilometres from the coast; it probably ceased to be maritime about the fourth century A.D.; therefore the rate of formation of land is about 600 metres a century. It was probably, however, more rapid at first, when the breadth of water under process of being silted up was less.

² *Vide* Map III.

the Gulf of Latmus,¹ the city was built out into the water, a position to which that of Corcyra offers the only close parallel among Greek seaports,² for in most instances these either fringed the shore, as did Samos and Rhodes, or were separate from their city, as was the case with Athens, Corinth and Megara.

Moreover, Miletus had no less than four harbours,³ probably three on one side and one on the other: two of these at least, the "Theatre Harbour" and the "Lion Harbour," penetrated almost into the centre of the town. The numerous islets and rocky ridges along the shores rendered artificial sea-works unnecessary.⁴ The island of Lade sheltered her roadsteads on the west. Thus she could offer her vessels protection from the wind in almost any quarter. In this respect she was far better situated than were either Priene or Myus, and further, unlike them, she was out of danger of the swell of the Maeander mouth or of sudden squalls sweeping down the valley. Therefore Miletus was well fitted to become the greatest seaport on the Gulf of Latmus.

That gulf formed the natural centre for the maritime trade of the eastern Aegean and was particularly fortunate in the character of the routes leading from it, a consideration of the utmost importance in days when navigation was beset by many dangers and ships seldom ventured out of sight of

¹ *Vide* Map III.

² A. von Salis, *Die Ausgrabungen in Milet et Didyma* (*Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. Alt.*, Vol. XXV. 2, 1910, p. 117). Syracuse and Cyzicus also jutted out into the water, but both stood partly on islands.

³ Strabo, XIV. i. 6.

⁴ A. von Salis, *loc. cit.*

land.¹ From the gulf vessels could sail south, threading their way past the islands and peninsulas to Rhodes, and thence along the coast towards Cyprus or to Phoenicia and Egypt. The westward passage through the Cyclades, under the shelter of Icaros,² Delos and Naxos, led almost straight to the Saronic Gulf and the ports of European Greece. This was practically the route taken by the Persian fleet in 490 B.C.,³ and is much used at the present day. Northward-bound vessels could either keep close to the mainland, or take the more exposed, but perhaps less treacherous, route which skirted the west coasts of Chios and Lesbos.⁴ Thus they arrived at the entrance to the Hellespont, whence they could turn west along the Thracian coast, or pass on into the Propontis and the Euxine.

As regards southern traffic only, Rhodes was indeed as favourably situated; and archæological evidence proves it to have been an important trading-centre in the late Minoan period, but Miletus was in a better position for communication with the west and north, with which the trade of her period was chiefly concerned, whereas the sphere of late Minoan trade had been the south-east Mediterranean.

Enough has been said to prove that Miletus was fortunate in the opportunities afforded by her site. The next chapter will set forth in detail the influence of this good fortune upon her economic development.

¹ The same precaution is still, to some extent, necessary in the Archipelago. Vide *Mediterranean Pilot*, 1900, Vol. IV., p. 9.

² Cp. *infra*, p. 48.

³ Hdt., VI. 95 *sqq.* The starting-point on this occasion was Samos.

⁴ Vide *Med. Pil.*, IV., pp. 213 *sqq.*

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION UPON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

THE original object of the industries carried on in an early Greck city was the production of the necessaries of life for its inhabitants; commerce with the outside world only developed when there was a surplus supply of any commodities, such as might be the case when the raw materials needed were easily obtained.

The economic welfare of Miletus thus depended in the first instance upon the production of an adequate quantity of corn and other foodstuffs, and in this respect the city was fortunate in her site.

The Milesians certainly had cornfields in their own territory, for Herodotus¹ describes how their harvests were destroyed by Alyattes; and it is possible that the corn obtained thence was under ordinary conditions sufficient for their needs. However, as will be shown later, they did on some occasions import foreign corn, and it is unlikely that there was ever a surplus of the home-grown supplies.

The cultivation of orchard trees in the Milesian territory is also mentioned in the passage in

¹ I. 17.

Herodotus alluded to above. It is easy to guess at their species. The Milesian peninsula is well suited to the growth of olives, and it was certainly then, as now,¹ partly devoted to the cultivation of these trees. The fruit itself was much used as an article of food, but still more important was the oil extracted therefrom; for this, as Mr. Zimmern remarks,² was the butter, gas and soap of the Greeks. Aristotle³ relates how Thales made a "corner" by purchasing all the olive-presses in Miletus and Chios, and thus proved that a philosopher could be a good man of business. Though it is impossible to vouch for the truth of this story, its existence proves the importance of the olive-oil industry at Miletus. There was evidently a surplus supply, which could be disposed of in localities where the olive would not grow. Details of this trade, however, belong rather to a later part of the chapter.

Figs, the only fruit known to the Greeks which would keep, formed another common article of diet, and when the Milesians had opened up communication with the Maeander valley, they had access to a region where this fruit was plentiful. At the present day "Smyrna" figs come chiefly from the Maeander and Hermus valleys, and there must have been a surplus for Miletus to export.

Another important item in the Greek food supply was fish, fresh and salted, and of this Miletus was able to obtain more than was sufficient for her

¹ Friedrich, *Handel und Produktenkarte von Kleinasien*, 1898, shows that olive-growing is a staple industry there.

² *The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 43.

³ *Politics*, I. iv. 5.

own needs. The bass¹ and red mullet² taken in the neighbourhood were much esteemed, while the numerous shells of the edible mussel found among the rubbish heaps of the city³ indicate that the sources of this supply were near at hand, a conclusion supported by the mention of a fleet of mussel-fishers in an inscription found at Miletus.⁴

The materials for their garments, also, the Milesians could procure with little difficulty. The typical Ionian dress was the linen chiton, and the flax needed for this probably came in the first place from Caria,⁵ certain districts of which were, as has been pointed out, easily reached from Miletus. Woollen material was used for the himation, which served the double purpose of cloak and bed-covering, and wool could be obtained from sheep kept in the immediate neighbourhood of the city; the story⁶ that Polycrates of Samos procured Milesian flocks for his own island proves that this breed of sheep was noted. In all probability this home supply was more than sufficient for the ordinary manufacture carried on by the Milesian housewives, for a regular industry grew up. The costly stuffs, hangings and rugs for which Miletus was noted can have been the

¹ Aristoph., *Knights*, 361, ἀλλ' οὐ λάβρακα καταφαγὼν Μιλησίου κλονήσεις. Athenaeus, VII. 311a, quotes the statement of Archestratus (middle of the fourth century, B.C.) that the best bass were taken off Miletus.

² Archestratus *ap.* Athen., VII. 320a, praises the red mullet (τρίγλαι) taken off Teichiussa.

³ Wiegand, *Dritter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Milet. (Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Ak.)*, 1904, pp. 86 sq.

⁴ *Loc cit.*, ὁ στόλος τῶν σωληνοκεντῶν.

⁵ Herodotus, V. 87, says that the linen chiton of the Ionians was of Carian origin.

⁶ Cytus the Aristotelian *ap.* Athen., XII. 540d.

result of skilled labour only, and it is therefore likely that they were produced by small masters, as was the case with the high-grade Attic pottery.

As this manufacture increased in extent, further supplies of raw material were needed. A plentiful amount could be drawn from the Phrygian highlands, the district whence comes the Angora wool of modern times. It is evident that this source was known to the Greeks, for Herodotus¹ mentions the Phrygian flocks and herds, Aristophanes,² a cloak of Phrygian wool, while Strabo³ bears witness to the excellent quality of the wool from Laodicea and Colossae, which was no doubt obtained from sheep pastured in the same highlands. The fleeces could easily be carried by mules down the Maeander valley, and might then be shipped across the gulf to Miletus or brought thither on land by way of Heraclea. There is no reason for doubting that this was actually done, though there is little definite evidence of intercourse between Miletus and Phrygia. No great value can be attached to the tale of Tottes and Omnes, who introduced the Phrygian mysteries of the Cabiri into the city at the time of the fall of the Neleids;⁴ and the Phrygians, whose bad Greek was ridiculed by Hipponax in the sixth century B.C.,⁵ were almost certainly slaves, not traders.

Most of these expensive woollens were dyed, and for this purpose a supply of purple was obtainable off

¹ V. 49.

² *Birds*, l. 493.

³ XII. viii. 16.

⁴ Nicolaus Damascenus, Fr. 54 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Mueller, III., p. 388).

⁵ Fr. 46, Bergk., *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*, II.⁴, p. 477, καὶ τοὺς σολοίκους ἦν λάβωσι, περνᾶσιν / Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφιτεύοντας.

the coast of Caria.¹ Numerous shells of the purple mussel still remain among the rubbish heaps of Miletus² to give evidence of the large quantities of this dye that were once used in the city.

Of all the industries of Miletus, her woollen trade became the most famous. Numerous references in ancient authors³ bear witness to the esteem in which her stuffs were held. The earliest writer to mention them explicitly is Aristophanes, but they were in all probability noted long before the fifth century B.C. This point, however, together with the importation of wool from overseas, will be discussed in a later part of this chapter.

The last class of necessities to be mentioned is that of household goods. For the simple furniture of a Greek house there was a supply of wood at hand in the wild olives, oaks and pines growing on the lower slopes of Mount Grion;⁴ hence there arose in Miletus a wood-working industry which in time became famous. References to Milesian furniture are found from the fifth century B.C. onwards, a notable instance being the record in the inventory of the confiscated goods of Alcibiades⁵—*κλῖναι Μιλησιουργεῖ[ς]*, and *κλίν[η] Μιλησιουργῆς [ἀ]μφ[ικ]-έφαλ[ος]*.

¹ Arist., *de Anim. Hist.*, V. xv. 3.

² Wiegand, *Dritter Bericht*, *op. cit.*, 1904, p. 87.

³ e.g. Aristoph., *Frogs*, 543, ἐν στρώμασι Μιλήσious ἀνατετραμμένος, as a luxury. Amphip (fourth century B.C.) *ap. Athen.*, XV. 691a, ἐρίοισι τόιχους κύκλῳ Μιλησίους. Timaeus (B.C. 352–256) *ap. Athen.*, XII. 519b, says that the Sybarites wore himatia of Milesian wool.

⁴ Rayet and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁵ Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 72. Cp. *Athen.*, I. 28, quoting Critias (end of fifth century B.C.), ἐνναίου δὲ λέχους ἑξοχα κάλλος ἔχει Μίλητος; and XI. 486e, κλίνη Μιλησιουργῆς καὶ δίφρος Μιλησιουργῆς.

The manufacture of pottery was a natural complement to the olive industry, as was notably the case at Athens. There is evidence that a Milesian "school" of pottery existed in the seventh century B.C.,¹ but the beginnings of the industry must have belonged to a yet earlier period.

It is evident that with her fruit, her oil and her fish, her woollens, furniture and pottery, Miletus had an abundance of wares with which to supply her own needs, and even a surplus for exportation. But extensive as were her manufactures, they were not the chief source of her wealth. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. she was still a noted manufacturing centre, and yet was comparatively poor.² It is therefore necessary to seek elsewhere for the explanation of her riches in the days of her greatest prosperity. The theory has been held that Miletus was one of the chief outlets for the caravan trade with the East, and that to this circumstance she owed a great part of her wealth: but a review of the various overland trade-routes³ proves this suggestion to be unsatisfactory.

It has been pointed out in Chapter I. that communication between Miletus and the Maeander valley was comparatively easy. That even in Mycenaean times a route ran from the head of that valley towards the Euphrates is shown by sherds and tumuli situated at intervals along a line which passes through southern Phrygia and Lycaonia to

¹ Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis* (*Klio*, Beiheft 7, 1908), p. 37. Cf. Walters, *Hist. of Ancient Pottery*, Vol. I., p. 336, for Milesian origin of so-called "Rhodian" ware.

² *Vide infra*, pp. 108 sq.

³ *Vide* also Map II.

Cilicia.¹ However, the remains are scattered, and should be taken as evidence of the journeys of occasional pedlars rather than of any regularly established trade communication.

Though Xerxes in 481 B.C. used at least the lower portion of the route² and Alcibiades in 404 B.C. presumably intended to travel by it to the Persian court,³ it cannot have been recognised as the ordinary route to the East; for when Cyrus in 401 B.C. followed the old pedlar's route,⁴ his army did not suspect that his objective was Persia until he reached the Cilician Gates.

Therefore it may be inferred that during the period under consideration this route was not extensively used, a conclusion supported by the fact that even the Phrygian portion did not acquire official importance until the Seleucid period;⁵ for when the Persians established their authority in Asia Minor, they adopted as their "Royal Road"⁶ between Susa and the Aegean coast a route which ran from the

¹ Ormerod, *A Note on the Eastern Trade Route of Asia Minor* (*Classical Review*, May 1912, pp. 76 sq.).

² Hdt., VII. 26, 30. He marched through Phrygia to Celaenae, Colossae, and Cydrara, and thence across the Maeander.

³ Athenaeus, 574e, f, says that he was killed at Melissa, which lies between Synnada and Metropolis: *vide* Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 36.

⁴ Xen., *Anab.*, I. ii. sq. He diverged from the "Royal Road" at a short distance beyond Ceramon Agora, and marched along the valleys of Phrygia Paroreius to Tyriaeum, and thence to Iconium and Tyana.

⁵ Artemidorus of Ephesus (*fl.* about B.C. 100) *ap.* Strabo, XIV. ii. 19. The direct route ran from Tyriaeum to Mazaca in Cappadocia and did not turn south into Lycaonia and Cilicia, but this difference does not affect the argument.

⁶ *Vide* Macan on Hdt. IV.-VI., Vol. II., App. 13, pp. 289-303.

Euphrates north-west and north to Pteria,¹ and thence across the Halys by Ancyra, Pessinus, Orcistus, and Satala to Sardis and Ephesus. An examination of Map II. shows that this alignment involves a considerable detour, and leads to the conclusion that this longer northern route was adopted because it was already more generally used than the shorter southern one.

This is the view upheld by Sir William Ramsay² and Mr. Hogarth,³ who point out that this northern route is proved by very ancient remains to have existed long before the period of Persian or of Lydian domination in Asia Minor. A notable instance of such remains is the "Hittite" sculpture known as the "Sesostris" in the Kara Bel Pass, traversed by the road between Sardis and Ephesus; while an alternative route to the coast is marked by the "Niobe" on the road leading from Sardis along the level ground north of Mount Sipylus towards Cyme and Phocaea.⁴

The above evidence may be summed up as follows: though communication between the Maeander valley and the hinterland was possible and was actually carried on, during the period treated of in this work the route to the East which was most commonly used ran through Sardis and did not touch Miletus at all.

Consequently, when the Lydian monarchs rose to

¹ Identified with Boghaz Keui by Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 33; but Hogarth, *Ionian and the East*, p. 6, contends that the identification is not certain, and mentions a suggestion that Pteria is to be identified with a site at Ak Alan, on the lowest part of the Halys.

² *Op. cit.*, Pt. II.

³ *Op. cit.*, Chap. IV.

⁴ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

power, they were able to control the caravan trade with Pteria, Nineveh and Babylon, or with Arbela and Susa, and thus were laid the foundations of the wealth which excited so much wonder in the Greek world.¹ If they wished to export goods, geographical considerations would lead them to adopt as their outlet Cyme, Phocaea, Smyrna or Ephesus,² rather than Miletus, which lay off the direct route between Sardis and the coast. Moreover, the history of the Lydian kings shows that their interference with the Greek cities was at first most determined along the most direct routes to the coast and not in the neighbourhood of Miletus.³ Objects belonging to an early period and indicating Eastern influence have been found in the Artemisium at Ephesus,⁴ and, as is pointed out in the Appendix to this chapter, the evidence afforded by the coinage of the various cities, though not extensive, supports the theory that Phocaea and Ephesus, at least, were interested in trade with the interior, whereas the commerce of Miletus was chiefly maritime.

Lastly, it may be noted that such trade as there might be between the Maeander valley and the hinterland would naturally be shared, if not monopolised, by Priene and Myus, which were still seaports when the prosperity of Miletus was at its height.

It is therefore clear that it was not the caravan

¹ Hdt., I. 14, 50, describes the rich offerings of Gyges and Croesus to the gods; I. 30, the treasury of Croesus.

² Herodotus, V. 54, mentions Ephesus as the terminus of the "Royal Road." Radet (*La Lydie*, pp. 29, 107) says that after the fall of Smyrna Cyme was long the chief terminus; finally, Ephesus took its place.

³ *Vide infra*, pp. 71 *sqq.*

⁴ Hogarth, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 *sqq.*

trade which was the source of the great wealth of Miletus: some other explanation must be sought. Neither is it difficult to find: the evidence of the coinage, which points to a maritime commerce, is in accordance with the conclusion arrived at in Chapter I., to the effect that Miletus was best fitted by her geographical position to become the centre of the sea-borne trade with the Aegean, Propontis and Euxine, and also with the West. It remains to inquire into the exact nature of this trade, and evidence will now be considered in support of the theory that it was because Miletus became the chief distributing centre of the Eastern Aegean that she also became the richest city in Ionia.

In this argument the Milesian colonies play an important part.

First, it should be noted that most of the settlements were planted on the shores of the Euxine and the Propontis, many of them being upon sites convenient for trading with the interior.¹

Secondly, numerous commodities were to be obtained in the immediate neighbourhood of the colonies. One of the most important of these was fish. The Euxine was noted as a breeding-place of the tunny,² and this fish was taken in large quantities in the Euxine itself and in the Propontis,³ to be salted for home consumption and for export. Mackerel and mullet were also taken off the north coast of the Euxine.⁴ Herodotus⁵ says that the Borysthenes

¹ *Vide infra*, Appendix to Chapter IV., pp. 56 *sqq.*

² Arist., *de Anim. Hist.*, VIII. xiii. 2.

³ Strabo, VII. vi. 2; XII. iii. 19, and *infra*, p. 16, note 7.

⁴ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 440.

⁵ IV. 53.

(modern Dnieper) was famous for a large fish known as the "*ἀνταναῖος*," which was no doubt the sturgeon, for which these waters are still famous. He also speaks of the salt which formed naturally at the mouth of the river: therefore the Milesian colony Olbia had every opportunity of becoming a centre of the salt-fish industry.¹ Salt was obtained in a similar way at other places on the shores of the Euxine and the Maeotis Palus,² and probably of the Propontis as well. Salt fish became an important article of commerce at Theodosia in the Tauric Chersonese,³ and other Milesian colonies engaged in the trade were Tanais,⁴ Sinope⁵ and Cyzicus.⁶

The supplies of wool which could be drawn from the Euxine region must have been of great importance to the Milesian manufacturers. Many of the Scythian tribes were nomads,⁷ who depended upon their flocks and herds for sustenance. Herodotus⁸ mentions the district about the Borysthenes in particular as affording excellent pasturage; and Strabo⁹ speaks of the large sheep of the country between that river and the Maeotis Palus. The highlands of the interior, behind Sinope, provided an extensive grazing ground. The most noted wool of all, how-

¹ Head, *Hist. Num.* (1st ed.), p. 233, points out that the coins of Olbia sometimes bore a fish, or were fish-shaped, with the letters ΘΥ or ΑΡΙΧΟ, which he explains as being the legal price of a tunny (*θύννος*) and a basketful (*ἄριχος*) respectively. But in his 2nd ed. (p. 272) he explains the letters as being abbreviations for personal names.

² Strabo, XI. v. 6; XI. ii. 4.

³ Strabo, VII. iv. 6.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXII. 146, 149.

⁵ Strabo, iii. 11.

⁶ Head, *op. cit.* (2nd ed.), p. 523, points out that a tunny appears as a type on the coins of Cyzicus.

⁷ Hdt., IV. 19.

⁸ IV. 53.

⁹ VII. iii. 18.

ever, seems to have come from the country of the Coraxi, a region apparently known to Hecataeus in the sixth century B.C.¹ The high quality of the Coraxic wool is attested by Tzetzes² in the following passage—

“Τὸ παλαιὸν περὶ στρωμνὰς ἦν τῇ Μιλητῷ φήμη.
ἔρια τὰ Μιλησία καλλίστα γὰρ τῶν πάντων
καὶ ὡς τῶν Κοραξικῶν φέροντα δευτερεῖα.

περὶ τῶν Μιλησιῶν ἔφαν πολλοὶ ἐρίων·
περὶ ἐρίων Κοράξων ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἰάμβω
Ἰππωνάξ οὕτως εἶρηκε, μέτρω χολῶν Ἰάμβων,
Κοραξικὸν μὲν ἡμφιεσμένη λῶπος.”

The quotation from Hipponax of Ephesus is important. He flourished during the second half of the sixth century B.C., and as the Milesians had colonies not far from the country of the Coraxi and Milesian woollens were famous in the fifth century B.C. at least, it is highly probable that the “Coraxic” robe mentioned by him was manufactured at Miletus. In this case the woollen industry of that city was in the sixth century extensive enough to import material from overseas.

The history of this industry at Miletus suggests comparison with that of the same industry at Florence during the Middle Ages. The wool produced near the city in the highlands of Tuscany was coarse and inferior in quality; but the Florentines used it when they first turned their attention to the manufacture of woollen cloth, an art in which they

¹ Hecataeus, Fr. 185 (*F.H.G.*, I., p. 12), speaks of Κοραξικὸν τεῖχος καὶ Κοραξικὴ χώρα. He had probably visited the neighbourhood (*vide infra*, p. 82). Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VI. 5) mentions οἱ Κόραξοι, ἔθνος Κόλχων, πλησίον Κῶλων.

² *Chiliad*, X., ll. 348 *sqq.*; 378 *sqq.*

attained great proficiency. The wool produced in Holland, Flanders and Brabant was much superior, but the workmen in these countries were less skilful and turned out material which was badly finished and dyed. Consequently the Florentines found that they could make large profits by importing these foreign cloths, dressing and dyeing them in their own workshops, and re-exporting some to the countries whence they came, and some to France and England, as well as by selling some in Italy.¹

Similarly the Milesians may first have become skilled in the manufacture of cloths from wool produced in their own neighbourhood and in the Phrygian highlands, and then have included in their industry the dressing and dyeing of stuffs woven from the excellent wool obtained overseas, which could be only imperfectly finished in the Greek colonies to which the fleeces were brought by the natives. Possibly, however, all this foreign wool was imported in an unworked condition to supplement the other sources to which Miletus had access. Transport on shipboard from the Euxine can have been little more difficult and expensive than transport on mules from Phrygia. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that a large quantity of wool from the Euxine region was used at Miletus at least from the sixth century B.C. onwards.

In addition to wool, hides were brought by the Scythian nomads to various Greek trading stations, such as Tanais,² to be bartered for manufactured goods.

These tribes on the north, east and west coasts

¹ Villari, *History of Florence*, pp. 316 sq. ² Strabo, XI. ii. 3.

of the Euxine were not, however, all nomads. Herodotus¹ mentions certain Scythians on the river Hypanis, west of the Borysthenes, who grew corn for sale, an unusual circumstance in the ancient world ;² and in another passage³ he speaks of the rich harvests raised on the banks of the Borysthenes. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the Euxine region was the chief source of the Athenian corn supply,⁴ and Strabo⁵ describes the whole region between Theodosia and Ponticapaëum as being rich in corn, which in his day was exported in large quantities. It is therefore probable that a considerable amount of grain was on occasions sent to Miletus. Under ordinary circumstances that city may have obtained a sufficiency from her own neighbourhood, but the story of her successful resistance to the ravages of Alyattes⁶ proves that she could at need import supplies from abroad, and such need must frequently have arisen when she was at war with her neighbours.

Timber also was plentiful within the area of Milesian colonisation. Possibly the settlement of Scepsis in the Troad owed its existence to the forests of Mount Ida, whence during the Peloponnesian War the satrap Pharnabazus furnished the Spartans with the means to build new ships.⁷ An almost inexhaustible supply was to be found on the southern shores of the Euxine. Theophrastus⁸ mentions Sinope in a list of regions

¹ IV. 17.

² Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. II., Appendix A.

³ IV. 53.

⁴ Dem., in *Lept.*, c. 31 sqq.; Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, pp. 74 sqq.

⁵ VII. iv. 4; v. 6.

⁷ Xen., *Hell.*, I. i. 25.

⁶ *Vide infra*, pp. 73 sq.

⁸ *Hist. Plant.*, IV. 5. 5.

producing timber suitable for shipbuilding; Strabo,¹ a native of this district, makes the same statement, adding that the timber was easily transported;² and Pliny³ speaks of the pine-trees of Pontus. Strabo⁴ also describes the neighbourhood of Phasis as rich in all kinds of materials needed for ships, in flax, hemp, pitch and wax, as well as in the actual timber. The finer kinds of wood were not wanting: the district about Sinope furnished timber suitable for household furniture,⁵ and Cyturus⁶ was noted for the boxwood used in making musical instruments⁷ and other small articles. Most of this timber was used near the place where it had grown, especially in the shipbuilding industry, of which Sinope⁸ eventually became a noted centre. But some of the finer varieties may have been shipped in an unworked condition to be manufactured into furniture at Miletus.

Another important commodity obtained in considerable quantities from the coast region of Pontus was iron. The mines of the native Chalybes were famous⁹ and must have afforded materials for an extensive trade. As Sinope was probably the centre through which the trade passed, Miletus could command, both for use at home and for export, a plentiful supply of the staple metal of historic Greece.

¹ XII. iii. 12.

² *εὐκατακομιστόν.*

³ *Nat. Hist.*, XVI. 197.

⁴ XI. ii. 17.

⁵ Strabo, XII. iii. 12, ἡ δὲ Σινωπῆτις καὶ σφένδαμον (maple) φύει καὶ ὀροκάρνον (mountain-nut) ἐξ ὧν τὰς τραπέζας τέμνουσιν.

⁶ Strabo, XII. iii. 10; Catullus, IV. 13.

⁷ Strabo, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Strabo, XII. iii. 11.

⁹ Aeschylus, *Prom. Vinc.*, l. 714, οἱ σιδηροτεκτόνες Χάλυβες. Xen., *Anab.*, V. 5. 1, οὗτοι (οἱ Χάλυβες) ὀλίγοι ἦσαν καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σιδηρείας.

Of the precious metals, silver was obtainable in the same district as iron,¹ and gold was one of the exports of Phasis. Not far from that city the metal washed down by the river was collected by means of fleeces and troughs; whence, as Strabo asserts,² arose the story of the "Golden Fleece." According to this prosaic interpretation, the "Argonauts" may have been Milesian traders. It is also possible, as Mr. Minns suggests,³ that gold from the far interior—from Transylvania or the Altai region—was exported from some of the Euxine ports.

Hemp was grown in Scythia⁴ and Colchis⁵ and was needed in large quantities for the ropes and nets of the Milesian fishermen and sailors.

Colchis also produced flax of a fine quality.⁶ In Strabo's time there was a flourishing linen manufacture there;⁷ but probably in earlier days the raw material was shipped from Phasis in Milesian vessels, to be manufactured into linen for garments and sails,⁸ for the latter of which articles there must have been an increasing demand with the increase of maritime enterprise. At Phasis, too, were manufactured the hunting-nets of flax-thread which are recommended by Xenophon.⁹

Honey and wax may also be set down among the list of articles obtained from the Milesian colonies; for Polybius mentions them in his summary of Euxine

¹ Strabo, XII. iii. 19, says that the iron mines of the Chalybes were worked in his time, and formerly silver, too, was worked.

² XI. ii. 19.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 438.

⁴ Hdt., IV. 74.

⁵ Strabo, XI. ii. 17.

⁶ Hdt., II. 105.

⁷ Strabo, XI. ii. 17.

⁸ *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 488.

⁹ *De venat*, 4.

trade,¹ and Mr. Minns² notes that they were among the chief products of mediæval Russia.

Another article of commerce was *μίλτος*, the red earth used for paint, chiefly, perhaps, on ships, whence the epithets, "*μιλοπάρετος*" and "*μιληγιφής*," applied to them by Homer³ and Herodotus⁴ respectively. This earth was brought from Cappadocia to Sinope and thence exported; thus it came to be known as "*Sinopic earth*."⁵

Vegetable dyes are perhaps to be numbered among the exports of Phasis. According to Herodotus,⁶ they were used by the natives of the district about the Caspian, south of the Caucasus, and thus they may have become known to the Milesians, and have been employed in their manufactures.

Lastly, a large number of slaves were brought from the Euxine region, the natives of Asia Minor and the Getae furnishing the chief supply.⁷ There is no evidence that Miletus was ever a centre of the slave trade, but it is likely that her vessels carried supplies to the Chian market.⁸

The shores of the Euxine, Propontis and Hellespont were not, however, the only regions in which Milesians established themselves. Naucratis, eventually the only place in Egypt where Greeks were allowed to settle, probably owed its origin to Milesians.⁹ Its site to the west of the Canobic mouth of the Nile was a most favourable one for commerce, being

¹ IV. xxxviii. 1 *sqq.*

³ *Il.*, II., l. 637; *Od.*, IX., l. 125.

⁵ Strabo, XII. ii. 10.

⁷ Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

⁸ *Vide infra*, p. 64.

⁹ *Vide infra*, pp. 50 *sqq.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 440.

⁴ *Hdt.*, III. 58.

⁶ I. 203.

on a canal which joined the Nile ¹ at no great distance from the capital, Sais, and facilitated communication with Memphis and Upper Egypt.²

The articles which could be exported from Naucratis were numerous. Besides her own pottery, of which she had a flourishing manufacture from about B.C. 600 onwards,³ she probably also produced the faience or glazed sandy paste peculiar to Egypt, of which were made amulets, scarabaei and vessels of various kinds.⁴ Egyptian flax and Egyptian linen were noted;⁵ the soil was well suited to the cultivation of corn; and in the marshes of the Nile grew quantities of papyrus,⁶ used for the manufacture of ropes⁷ and writing-paper. Herodotus⁸ gives an interesting piece of information about the latter article: he says that when “βύβλοι” (papyrus) were scarce, the Ionians used the skins of sheep and goats as writing-paper; therefore they gave the name “διφθέραι” (skins) to papyrus, when they adopted that new material. He is evidently referring to the time when trade was opened up with Egypt.

Alum,⁹ used in dyeing,¹⁰ was another Egyptian product.¹¹ This may have been exported for use in Milesian workshops. To the Delta of the Nile, moreover, came by caravan routes the produce of the African and Arabian interiors, gold, ivory, skins and perfumes,

¹ P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, pp. 203 sqq.

² Flinders Petrie, *Third Memoir of Egypt Exploration Fund*, p. 11.

³ Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 99 sqq.

⁵ Hdt., II. 105.

⁶ Hdt., II. 92.

⁷ Hdt., VII. 34.

⁸ Hdt., V. 58.

⁹ *στυπτηρίη*.

¹⁰ How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, i. p. 255.

¹¹ Hdt., II. 180. Amasis of Egypt gave alum to the Delphians.

the last, no doubt, being often exported in flasks of Naucratic ware.¹

In the West, where Phocaea was the only prominent trading state from Ionia, Miletus founded no colonies, and hitherto few traces of Milesian wares have been discovered there:² possibly further excavations may reveal more. It is certain, however, that there was close communication between Miletus and Sybaris, a town which controlled the overland route leading to Laus on the Tyrrhenian Sea and thence to Campania. The friendship of this city was consequently of importance to the Milesians, whose enemies, the Chalcidians,³ held the straits between Italy and Sicily with their colonies of Zancle and Rhegium. South Italy provided good pasture land,⁴ and therefore was a possible source of raw material for the woollen manufactures of Miletus. The Sybarites purchased Milesian stuff;⁵ and doubtless other merchandise, too, was landed there to be sold on the spot or carried further into Italy. Herodotus⁶ describes how Miletus mourned the destruction of Sybaris in B.C. 510.⁷ "Similarly," remarks Mr. Zimmern,⁸ "Manchester would be sorry if the Cape were in foreign hands and we then lost control of the Suez Canal."

The list of possible exports from Milesian colonies is a lengthy one; and, although much of the produce must have been consumed in the colonies themselves and in Miletus, it is certain that the supply exceeded

¹ Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

² Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³ *Vide infra*, pp. 65 *sqq.*

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII. 48.

⁵ Timaeus *ap. Athen.*, XII. 519b. ⁶ VI. 21.

⁷ The dating is Busolt's (*Griech. Gesch.*, II.², p. 769).

⁸ *The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 27.

the demand from these quarters. Other markets were naturally sought; and as the goods were in most cases such as were required in many Greek cities, this was no difficult task.

Again, Miletus sent much of her own produce to her colonies, the largest item of this trade being probably the olive oil, which was such a necessity to the Greeks, and which could not be produced in the Euxine region. But she could not supply all the needs of her colonists. Wine was certainly imported in the above district during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., as it was in the fifth and fourth.¹ As Miletus was not a centre of the wine trade, the supply must have been drawn from other cities, Chios, the close friend of Miletus, being probably the chief among these,² and it was natural that the wine-jars should be carried to their destination in Milesian vessels.

As she was so fortunate in her geographical position, Miletus could easily distribute to other parts of the Greek world the surplus exports of her colonies, together with the produce of her own industries, either unloading and dividing the cargoes or transshipping them in bulk. Such traffic was likely to increase rapidly, for the rôle of carriers to the whole of the Eastern Aegean was left vacant when the Phoenicians were driven from Greek waters: consequently it fell to the Milesians, who thus secured their enormous wealth.

The above theory can be supported by the evidence of specimens of the only kind of goods likely to

¹ For details *vide* Minns, *op. cit.*, pp. 441 *sq.*

² *Vide infra*, pp. 63 *sq.*

survive. Pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., which is now usually believed to be of Milesian manufacture, though at one time assigned to Rhodes, has been found not only at Miletus itself, but also in Egypt, at Naucratis and Daphnae; in Cyprus, in the Aegean islands, Rhodes, Thera, Delos, Rheneia, Samos and Calymnos; on the Asiatic mainland, at Ephesus, Myrina, Pitane and other places in Aeolis; at Pergamum, Ilium and Gordium; in South Russia, at Olbia and Panticapacum, and in the interior; and in smaller quantities in the West, at Gela, Tarentum and Cumae.¹ Only one piece has been found on the Greek mainland,² where there was little need for the importation of olive-oil or pottery; but the embroideries on Ionian dress in "proto-Corinthian," Corinthian and black-figured vases, indicates acquaintance with Milesian textiles from the seventh century onwards; while Milesian fish, woollens and furniture were certainly prized at Athens in the fifth century B.C.³

The sphere of Milesian trade therefore extended over a considerable area. Nor is this the only information afforded by finds of pottery. Naucratic ware, belonging to the sixth century B.C., and faience, belonging to the seventh and sixth, have been found not only at Miletus, but also at the majority of those places in which the wares of the latter city have been discovered.⁴ This fact is a most important one, for

¹ Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 *sqq.* *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1912, p. 5 (for Delos). Von Stern, *Die griechische Kolonisation am Nordgestade des Schwarzen Meeres* (*Klio*, 1909, pp. 141 *sq.*) (for Russia).

² Prinz, *loc. cit.*

³ *Vide supra*, pp. 8 *sqq.*

⁴ Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 88, and *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1912, *loc. cit.*

it may be taken as evidence that Miletus was a centre for the distribution of exports from Naucratis; and if she performed this office for one colony, there is every probability that she performed it for all.

It is, therefore, clear that we may confidently reject the theory that in the caravan trade lay the source of Milesian wealth. As the chief distributing centre of the Eastern Aegean, the city could not fail to become rich and powerful; and when she lost this carrying trade she could not fail to become comparatively poor. Upon this sea-borne traffic depended the great prosperity of Miletus.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

COINAGE

A CONSIDERATION of certain details connected with the coinage of Miletus and various other states supports the conclusions as to the nature of her trade, which have already been drawn from other evidence.

The system of exchange by means of the precious metals was derived ultimately from the East; but the standard of weight employed underwent various modifications.¹ In the end the so-called "Phoenician" standard seems to have been generally adopted among the coast towns of Asia Minor, whereas the "Babylonian" standard was employed in the interior,² whence it reached Lydia. When Lydia began to trade with the coast towns, the two standards met; and when the different Greek cities began to issue coins, their choice of the one standard or the other must have been largely influenced by that used in the regions with which their commerce was chiefly concerned.

The introduction of coined money is ascribed by Herodotus³ to the Lydians, and his statement cannot be disproved. Among the earliest Lydian issues, which apparently began in the reign of Gyges, are found electrum coins both of the Babylonian and of

¹ Head, *Historia Memoriam* (2nd ed.), p. xxxix.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 643.

³ p. 94.

the Phoenician standard: the former were intended for use in the hinterland trade, the latter for dealing with the maritime cities.¹

Among Greek coins there are none demonstrably earlier than a primitive electrum issue generally assigned to seventh-century Miletus;² consequently there is reason to believe that Miletus was one of the first, if not the first, of the Greek cities to issue coined money. This view is in agreement with the belief that Miletus was an important commercial city even before the time of Gyges; and it does not necessitate the assumption that she was in such close connection with Lydia as were Smyrna, Phocaea, Cyme and Ephesus: the Milesians could hear of and see Lydian money without having extensive transactions with Lydia.

These early coins bear the device of a lion or a lion's head, often with a star—probably representing the sun—above his forehead. The lion and the sun are symbols of the Didymaeon Apollo, and the fact that these early coins bear them supports the theory that they were struck by the temple authorities.³

These coins were struck on the Phoenician standard;⁴ the Babylonian standard does not appear to have been used for any of them, nor have any coins of incontestably Lydian origin been found at Miletus.

On the other hand, the earliest coins of Phocaea were apparently based on the Babylonian standard, though not on the particular variety adopted in the

¹ Head, *op. cit.*, p. 643. The Babylonian stater weighed 168 grs.; the Phoenician, 220 grs.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 584.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 585.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 584.

Lydian issues.¹ However, the use of this standard in any form must have facilitated commerce with the interior.

Smyrna may have adopted the same standard, which is that of two early electrum coins possibly belonging to this city; but if these were issued elsewhere, no coins of Smyrna can be assigned to a date prior to its destruction by the Lydians.²

No early electrum coins can with certainty be attributed to Cyme; though silver coins of the Aeginetic standard were issued there in the seventh century B.C.³

At Ephesus the earliest electrum coins were struck on the Phoenician standard,⁴ but numerous coins which are probably Lydian have been found there.⁵ They include the earliest issues, and indicate that though in their transactions with other Greek cities at least the Ephesians used the standard commonly adopted there, they had dealings with Lydia and accepted her coins as currency.

The above details, therefore, though not in themselves conclusive, support the view that Milesian commerce was almost entirely sea-borne, whereas Lydian trade with the interior found its maritime outlets in Phocaea and Ephesus and possibly in Smyrna and Cyme.

¹ Head, *op. cit.*, p. 587. The early electrum stater of Phocaea, belonging to B.C. 600 or earlier, weighed 256-248 grs. *Op. cit.*, p. xxxvii. The shekel, $\frac{1}{60}$ of the heavy Babylonian mina, used in weighing precious metals, weighed 252·6 grs.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 591. An electrum stater weighing 248·2 grs., and hecte weighing 42·5 grs.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 553.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 571 sq.

⁵ Hogarth, *B. M. Excavations at Ephesus*, 1908, pp. 79 sqq.

CHAPTER III

ORIGINS

THE various texts referring to the origins of Miletus are below quoted in chronological order.

Homer, in the "Ships' Catalogue,"¹ which is often regarded as a late and detached section of the *Iliad*, but which is in any case our earliest literary source for the history of Miletus, speaks of the "barbarous-tongued Carians of Miletus" as allies of the Trojans and makes no allusion to any Greek settlement there.

Herodotus² relates that the Ionians from the Prytaneum at Athens, who counted themselves the purest Ionians of all, brought no wives with them when they settled at Miletus, but wedded Carian girls whose fathers they had slain. "These wives made a law which they bound themselves by oath to observe, and which they handed down to their daughters after them, that none should sit at meat with her husband, or call him by his name, because the invaders slew their fathers, their husbands and their sons, and forced them to become their wives." He also states that among the Ionian immigrants into Asia were Abantians from Euboea, Minyae from Orchomenus, Cadmeians, Dryopians, Phocians, Molossians, Arcadian Pelasgi, Dorians from Epidaurus, and

¹ *Il.*, II., ll. 868 *sq.*

² I. 146 *sq.*

others. Their kings were either Lycians of the blood of Glaucus, son of Hippolochus, or Pylian Caucons of the blood of Codrus, son of Melanthus.

In another passage¹ he alludes to Neleus, the son of Codrus, as the founder of Miletus, and in a third² he depicts the Athenians, after the battle of Mycale, as claiming the Ionians as their colonists.

He further asserts³ that in ancient times the Carians went by the name of Leleges and dwelt in the islands, being subjects of King Minos of Crete. Long after the time of this monarch they were driven out of the islands by the Ionians and Dorians and settled on the mainland. The Carians themselves, however, claimed to be aboriginal inhabitants of the mainland.

Pherecydes,⁴ writing about the middle of the fifth century B.C., says that formerly the Carians held Miletus and Myus and the districts round Mycale and Ephesus; and the Leleges, the rest of the coast as far as Phocaea, and Chios and Samos. Both peoples were driven out by the Ionians.

Thucydides⁵ relates that Minos expelled the Carians from the Cyclades and established his own sons as governors of the islands.

In another passage⁶ he relates that when Delos was purified during the Peloponnesian War, half the graves there were found to be those of Carians, who were identified by the fashion of the weapons buried with them and by the method of burial, which was still practised by the Carians of the author's own day.

Ephorus,⁷ in the fourth century B.C., records that

¹ IX. 97.

² IX. 106.

³ I. 171.

⁴ *Ap. Strabo*, XIV. i. 3.

⁵ I. 4.

⁶ I. 8.

⁷ *Ap. Strabo*, XIV. i. 6.

Miletus was first planted by the Cretans near the sea, "where old Miletus¹ now stands." Sarpedon brought colonists from the Cretan Miletus and gave the same name to the city. The Leleges had formerly held the region. The later Miletus was founded from Athens by Neleus, son of Codrus, a Pylian by descent.

Apollodorus,² who flourished about 140 B.C., gives a more detailed legend. Minos and Sarpedon, the sons of Europa and Asterion, rulers of the Cretans, were both enamoured of the boy Miletus, son of Apollo and Areia. Sarpedon, being defeated, fled with Miletus. Miletus came to Caria and founded a city which he named after himself. Sarpedon allied himself with Cilix, who was at war with the Lycians, and became king over part of the Lycian territory.

Strabo,³ writing at the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D., remarks that tombs and traces of the fortified places and villages of the Leleges are found throughout Caria and at Miletus.

The elder Pliny⁴ says that Miletus was called by the Leleges "Pityusa" and "Anactoria."

Pausanias,⁵ an author of the second century A.D., gives the following account of the origin of Miletus, as being that current among the Milesians themselves. "For two generations their land was called 'Anactoria,' the kings being Anax, an aboriginal, and Asterius, his son. But when Miletus put into their shores with a host of Cretans, both the land and the city took their new name from him. Miletus and his army came from Crete, fleeing from Minos,

¹ ἡ παλαιὰ Μίλητος.

² 3. 2.

³ VII. vii. 2.

⁴ *Nat. Hist.*, V. 112 sq.

⁵ VII. ii. 1-3.

son of Europa. The Carians, the former inhabitants of the land, fused with the Cretans. Then Neleus and the other sons of Codrus left Athens to found a colony, taking with them such Athenians as chose to follow them, but the bulk of their army was composed of Ionians; there were also Thebans, Minyans from Orchomenus, Phocians, except the Delphians, and Abantes from Euboea. Neleus and his division landed at Miletus. Having conquered the inhabitants, they put the whole male sex to the sword, except such as made their escape when the city fell, but the wives and daughters of the Milesians they married.

In another passage¹ Pausanias calls Anax a son of Earth.

In addition to the above references, to illustrate the depth of absurdity to which legends can descend, may be quoted a story told by Ovid.² Caunus and Byblis were the son and daughter of Miletus, the king of Miletus in Asia. The two fell in love with each other. Byblis in her misery hung herself on a nut-tree, and her tears gave rise to the spring Byblis.³ Caunus settled in Lycia.

It is evident that these texts contain many inventions which may be rejected at once. Some can be recognised as being ætiological myths. For example, the custom which forbade the Milesian women to eat with their husbands or to utter their names doubtless had its origin in some system of taboo, and not in the slaughter of Carians by Ionians. "Among some savage tribes, *e.g.* the Caribs of North America, the wife neither eats with her husband nor calls him by his

¹ I. xxxv. 6.

² *Met.*, IX. 450 *sqq.*

³ Mentioned by Pausanias (VII. v. 10).

name. The myth of Cupid and Psyche preserves in a curious form this primitive separation of husband and wife. There may have been some survival of it at Miletus, though hardly so absolute as Herodotus states."¹

It was natural that the city Miletus should have a man Miletus for its founder; the islet Asterius, near Lade,² is to be held responsible for the story of Asterius, the aboriginal monarch; while Anax, the first king, may have owed his origin either to some chthonic cult, as Wilamowitz suggests,³ the title being one frequently applied to powers of the underworld, or to the place name Anactoria. The rushes (*βύβλοι*) around a spring near Miletus gave rise to the legend of the maiden Byblis; and the Milesian hero Caunus betokens a racial connection between some of the pre-Ionian inhabitants of Miletus and the people of Caunus in Lycia. The legend connecting Miletus with the Lycian Sarpedon is possibly to be explained in the same way.

Other statements may be explained away as conjectures based on superficial information. Miletus was sufficiently important to have a chief of its own; therefore the name Anactoria⁴ (the palaces) was readily suggested. Similarly Pityusa was an appropriate name for a site near the pine-clad slopes of Latmus and Grion, as it was for the pine-bearing islands of the same name off the coasts of the Argolid, of Cilicia and of Spain.

¹ How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, Vol. I., p. 122.

² Pausanias (I. xxxv. 6) says that Asterius was buried there.

³ *Sitzungsber.: Berl. Ak.*, 1906, p. 73.

⁴ Herodotus (I. 172, *sq.*) believed the Caunians to be aboriginals, the Lycians of Cretan origin.

The Carian's own claim to *αὐτοχθονία* may safely be disregarded. Such a boast was not uncommon, and the case of the inhabitants of Attica¹ shows how unreliable it was apt to be.

Lastly, suspicion may be thrown on the story connecting the Athenian monarch Codrus with the leaders of the Ionian migration. He may well have been brought in "ad maiorem Miletī gloriā," in the same way as the Lesbian colonists were affiliated to Agamemnon through his son Orestes.²

After these inventions have been rejected, however, a certain amount of detail remains which can be supported by other evidence. That which refers to the Leleges, Carians and Cretans will be considered first.

Strabo's assertion that he had seen traces of the occupation by the Leleges at Miletus cannot be taken as conclusive in itself, for by a mere inspection of the tumuli he could not have known that they belonged to the Leleges rather than to any other prehistoric stock; but he evidently perceived that they were non-Carian, and as a belief in an occupation by the Leleges was widespread, there is no reason why his conjecture should not be correct. The Leleges, therefore, may be plausibly identified with the pre-Carian possessors of the soil, who were partly subdued by the latter people and partly reduced to the status of helots.³

The Carians may possibly have been immigrants from the Cyclades, as Thucydides asserts, or from

¹ Thuc., II. 2.

² Hellanicus, Fr. 114 (*F.H.G.*, IV. p. 632).

³ Philippus of Theangela, who probably lived after Alexander the Great, mentions (Fr. 1., *F.H.G.*, IV., p. 475) the Leleges along with the Laconian Helots and the Thessalian Penestae.

Crete at the time of the Achæan invasion about 1500–1300 B.C., as Dörpfeld holds;¹ but the best-supported theory as to their origin is that of Aly, who contends² that they were post-Mycenæan immigrants into the islands from the Asiatic mainland. In any case, they are probably to be distinguished from the Leleges, and there is good reason, even apart from the express evidence of Homer, for supposing that they were at one time occupiers of the Milesian district. As communication between this region and part of Caria was easy, it was natural that the same race should be found in both. Moreover, the Carian element survived to some extent during a considerable period; for the family of the Thelidae, to which Thales belonged, contained Carian names such as Hexamytes (Thales' father) as late as the seventh century B.C.³ Further, as Haussoullier points out,⁴ the name of the Milesian deme Argaseis is of Carian origin, being similar to the Carian place-names in -asa, e. g. Harpasa, Mylasa and Pedasa. Probably this same Carian element was responsible for the peculiar dialect spoken at Miletus, Priene and Myus.⁵

The "Cretans" may be identical with the "Carians," or more probably they represent another stratum of population. The belief in the existence of relations between Cretans and Carians was an old one, as is shown by the above-mentioned statements of Herodotus and Thucydides. An allusion in Homer⁶ proves the exist-

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1905, pp. 288 *sqq.*

² *Philologus*, 1909, pp. 428 *sqq.*

³ Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, I², p. 305, note 1.

⁴ *Dèmes et tribus de Milet.* (*Revue de Philologie*, 1897, p. 48).

⁵ Hdt., I. 142.

⁶ *Il.*, II. 647.

ence of a city called Miletus in Crete, which may have been the metropolis of the Asiatic settlement. Moreover, as Wilamowitz points out,¹ Cretans were supposed to have formed part of the population of other Ionian towns, notably of Chios, Erythrae and Colophon: Herodotus² assigns to the Lycians a Cretan origin; and the place-names Priene and Caunus occur in Crete.³ Another indication of early communication between Miletus and Crete is to be found in the cult of Apollo Delphinios, which the city probably derived from the island.⁴

Most important of all is the evidence brought forward by the recent excavations of Professor Wiegand. Upon the hill now known as Kiliktepe⁵ have been found sherds of the late "Mycenaean" period and the remains of house-walls, very like those discovered on late "Mycenaean" sites in Crete and Rhodes, notably at Gurnia on the Gulf of Mirabello and at Ialysus.⁶ Therefore it is evident that there existed here a settlement which during the late Mycenaean period—i. e. before 1100 B.C.—had some relations with the Aegean world. More than this cannot be stated with certainty. It is possible that Miletus was a Cretan trading station during the thalassocracy of the island under Achaean rule. On the other hand, as has been pointed out above, it may have been a settlement of Cretans driven out by

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 63.

² I. 174.

³ Stephanus, 370.

⁴ *Vide* Aly, *Delphinios* (*Klio*, 1911, pp. 1 *sqq.*).

⁵ *Vide* Map III. Wiegand, *Sechster Bericht*, 1908, identifies the site with the "first Cretan settlement" of Ephorus, who had confused it with the site of "old Miletus."

⁶ A. von Salis, *DA usgrabungen in Milet* (*Neue Jahrb. f. d. k. Alt.*, XXV. 2, 1910, p. 129).

the Achaean invader. Lastly, this late "Mycenaean" civilisation may have been brought by emigrants from the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands, under the constant pressure of invaders from the north. In any case, the settlement was not an extensive one, and the settlers intermarrying with the women they found there perhaps came to be regarded as aboriginals, so that the Milesians were still said to be "barbarous-tongued Carians" at the time of the Homeric poems.

To sum up, it can be asserted that there were at least two pre-Ionian settlements upon the site, and that one of these took place in the late "Mycenaean" period; but it cannot be determined with certainty whether the Carians are to be identified with the Leleges or with the Cretans, or whether, as seems most likely, they represent a settlement subsequent to the other two.

Next comes the question of the "Ionian" settlement of Miletus.

The passages from Herodotus and Pausanias quoted at the beginning of the chapter show that tradition ascribed to the Ionian settlers in Asia Minor a composite origin. That such was the case is *a priori* probable when the number of colonies founded is taken into consideration; and the Milesians may have been able to furnish proofs of their heterogeneous origin, arguing from cult survivals and from family traditions. The early settlers would naturally remember their genealogies: Hecataeus traced his descent back through no less than sixteen generations,¹ and though he claimed a god as his first ancestor,

¹ Hdt., II. 143.

some of the family-trees may have been more reliable.

There are certain further indications of the existence in Miletus and other Asiatic colonies of some of the elements mentioned by Herodotus and Pausanias.

Although a desire to glorify Athens and to justify her protectorate of the Ionian cities can be detected in Herodotus' assertion that the purest Ionians were settlers from Athens, it is unnecessary to deny the presence of Athenians in the settlement at Miletus. Inscriptions prove that of the old "Ionian" tribes found in Attica, the Geleontes, Argadeis, Aegicoreis and Hopletes, all four existed at Cyzicus,¹ and the Argadeis at Miletus.² As Cyzicus was a Milesian colony, it is reasonable to infer that all four divisions originally existed in the mother-city also; and it is at least as likely that the "Ionian" settlers brought the names with them from Athens, as that Athens and Miletus derived them from some common source.

As evidence of the presence of Messenians from Pylus, it may be noted that the name Neleus, said to be borne by their leader, "a Pylian by descent," was also borne by the father of Nestor.³ However, as Wilamowitz points out,⁴ Neleus may easily have come into the story under fifth-century Athenian influence, for he had long been connected with Athens.

A Boeotian element is possibly attested by the existence at Miletus of a tribe Asopis and a deme

¹ Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, 3657, 3663-5.

² Wiegand, *Dritter Bericht*, 1904, p. 85.

³ *Il.*, II. 20.

⁴ *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1906, pp. 38 *sqq.*

Plataieis;¹ but, on the other hand, there were more than one Asopus in Greece, and it may have been the similarity of these names to those of the Boeotian town and river which gave rise to the story.

As the above evidence is of a somewhat vague nature, the following are all the conclusions that can be drawn. At some period subsequent to the Cretan and Carian occupation of Miletus there was an extensive migration from European Greece to the Asiatic coast; the emigrants came from various districts, but were eventually classed together as Ionians; Miletus was one of the towns thus founded, and the Athenians possibly formed a not inconsiderable element among the settlers.

It is impossible definitely to determine at what period the name Ionian was first applied to these settlers; but, as Wilamowitz points out,² the heterogeneous character of the people who emigrated suggests that no union took place till the seventh century B.C., when a common dread of the Lydians led the twelve cities on the Asiatic coast to form a confederation under the title of the Panionion. However that may be, the term "Ionian migration" is a convenient one to use.

The cause of this migration is now generally held to have been the so-called Dorian invasion; and therefore it may be dated as taking place between the twelfth and the tenth centuries B.C.³ There is

¹ Haussoullier, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 *sq.* In this connection he mentions the name Thebe, borne by a place near Miletus; but there were "Thebes" in Thessaly and Troas; therefore no connection with Thebes in Boeotia need be inferred.

² *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1906, pp. 59 *sqq.*

³ Bolkestein (*Klio*, 1913, pp. 430 *sqq.*) satisfactorily refutes Meyer's theory that this was pre-Dorian.

additional evidence that the "Ionian" settlement at Miletus took place during this period: Miletus could still be called "Carian" at the time, or within the memory, of the author of the "Ships' Catalogue"; geometrical pottery, probably belonging to the tenth century, has been found on the site;¹ and the Milesians themselves believed that their city was founded about the tenth century, for Hecataeus' genealogy of sixteen generations would make the beginning of the family fall within it.

The site of the first "Ionian" settlement may have been the island of Lade,² but no excavations have as yet been carried on there. Numerous instances can be cited of settlers first establishing themselves on an island, which would naturally be more defensible than a mainland site, and might be found unoccupied. Then, as they grew in numbers and strength, they migrated to the mainland. As examples may be mentioned Cyrene,³ Ortygia and Syracuse,⁴ Cyzicus,⁵ Apollonia in Thrace,⁶ and Bombay. But there is no direct evidence as to whether this was the case with Miletus.

The first settlement on the mainland was near or upon the site chosen by the "Cretans" in the neighbourhood of the "Theatre Harbour," where a thin but clearly marked geometric stratum lies above the late Mycenaean house walls.⁷ Thence the town spread east

¹ Wiegand, *Sechster Bericht*, 1908, p. 8; Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, Vol. I., pp. 290 sq.

² *Vide* Map I.

³ Hdt., IV. 156 sq.

⁴ Thuc., VI. 3. 2.

⁵ Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, pp. 2 sq.

⁶ Strabo, VII. vi. 1.

⁷ Wiegand, *Sechster Bericht*, 1908, p. 8. *Vide* Map IV. for places mentioned.

to the "Lion Harbour" and west to the Kalabaktepe, the "old Miletus" of Ephorus, round which walls were built in the middle of the seventh century B.C. Thus the hill formed an acropolis for the city, which at about that period reached its greatest extension.¹

¹ Wiegand, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPANSION OF MILETUS

I. *By Land.*

There is no tradition of wars with Carians in the immediate neighbourhood after the slaughter of the Ionian migration, and as the hinterland power of the Hittites was then breaking up, interference from that quarter was no longer to be feared by settlers on the coast.¹ Expansion was therefore easy, and from their well-chosen position upon the promontory the Milesians extended their territory, until it included the whole of the peninsula between the Gulf of Latmus and Bargylieticus.

In the south of this peninsula stood Didyma, the seat of a famous cult of Apollo. The history of this cult is obscure, but Herodotus² says that the oracle was established in very ancient times and that both Ionians and Aeolians used to resort to it. In this particular it may be contrasted with the cult of the Delian Apollo, which was exclusively Ionian, and the inference may be drawn that the former cult did, and the latter did not,³ exist in the pre-Ionian

¹ Hogarth, *Ionian and the East*, pp. 69 sqq.

² I. 157.

³ For particulars as to the Delian cult *vide* Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV., pp. 107 sq.

period. This conclusion is supported by the statement of Pausanias,¹ that the temple and oracle at Didyma were older than the Ionian migration. It is quite possible that they may have been established at the time of the "Cretan" settlement,² though no definite assertion can be made on that point. The remains hitherto discovered do not date back beyond the seventh century B.C.,³ but further excavations may throw more light upon the subject. In any case, it is certain that the use of the sanctuary at Didyma, as of the oracle at Delphi,⁴ dated back to a very early period, and the fact that the temple stood in their territory demonstrably added to the prestige of the Milesians.

The expansion of Miletus did not stop at the limits of the peninsula. Polybius⁵ records the legend that Iasus, in south-west Caria, was first an Argive colony, but that subsequently its inhabitants, hard pressed in a war with the Carians, called in the aid of the Neleids from Miletus; thus it became a Milesian settlement. There is no reason why this story should not be accepted as substantially true; in which case the part played by the Neleids proves that the settlement at Iasus was made in the days

¹ VII. ii. 6.

² Farnell (*op. cit.*, pp. 145 *sqq.*, 227) points out the probable connection between Apollo worship and Crete.

³ Wiegand (*Siebenter Bericht*, 1911, p. 42) speaks of the discovery of the archaic altar mentioned by Pausanias, V. xiii. 6. Sherds of the sixth and seventh centuries were found within its enclosure.

⁴ For early origin of Delphic cult *vide* Farnell, *op. cit.*, IV., p. 180.

⁵ XVI. 12. 1 *sq.*

of the kings, or of the early aristocracy.¹ The place was noted for the excellence of its fisheries,² and this fact may have induced the Milesians to establish a footing there. With this incident we may connect a dispute with Halicarnassus, mentioned by Aristotle,³ in which a member of the royal race of that city was given up as a hostage to Phobius the Neleid, then ruling at Miletus.

There is every probability that at an early date the Milesians, in search of food supplies, became masters of part of the fertile Maeander plain. The position of their city resembled that of an island, and there are several instances, notably that of Samos,⁴ where islands held territory upon the opposite mainland. The famous quarrel about Priene between Miletus and Samos in 440 B.C.,⁵ proves that after the former had lost her colonies she sought territory on the mainland; therefore it is likely that she did so before she had begun to derive supplies from overseas. If this was the case, the early possessions of Miletus comprised the three districts mentioned by Herodotus,⁶ as belonging to her at the time of the Ionian revolt—*ἡ πόλις, τὰ ὑπεράκτια* (the limestone plateaux of the peninsula) and *τὸ πῆδιον* (part of the Maeander plain).

II. *By Sea.*

The maritime expansion of the Milesians far exceeds in importance their expansion on the main-

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 123.

³ Frag. 552.

⁵ Thuc., I. 115. 2.

² Strabo, XIV. ii. 21.

⁴ *Vide infra*, p. 69.

⁶ VI. 20.

land; indeed, it is unparalleled in the history of any other Greek state. As was usually the case among the pioneers of maritime intercourse in Greece, the early Milesian navigators were also the founders of numerous colonies. It should be remarked, however, that all the settlers in Milesian colonies cannot have been of Milesian birth,¹ for the number of these colonies was too great. The city served as the centre for a kind of colonising agency, and to it flocked those Greeks who were in search of fresh homes, much as the unemployed of modern times tend to drift into the harbour towns. The oracle at Didyma seems to have acted, like that at Delphi, as an information bureau; for the temple of Apollo Milesius at Naucratis and the cult of Apollo Prostates at Olbia show that some of the expeditions went out under the direct protection of the god.²

The cause which led Milesians to quit their native town was in some cases political strife, in others it may have been the natural increase of population and the natural obstacles to further expansion landwards, but it is certain that commercial interests became connected with these expeditions at a very early period. It is probable that considerations of harbourage brought about the colonisation of Leros,³ an island in the Aegean, south of Miletus, and of

¹ Cardia was a joint colony of Miletus and Clazomenae, Parium of Miletus, Paros and Erythrae; *vide infra*, pp. 56 sq.

² Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 sq.

³ Anax. Lamp. *ap.* Strabo, XIV. i. 6. According to *Med. Pil.*, 1900, Vol. IV., pp. 200 sq., Leros (mod. Lero) on the east offers anchorage and protection from the north wind to small coasters.

Icaros,¹ on the route to European Greece, for which, as has been shown, Miletus formed so convenient a starting-point.

It was, however, in the north that Miletus established the majority of her colonies.² She had numerous settlements on the shores of the Hellespont and the Propontis; and though the Bosphorus, the key to the Euxine, was controlled by the Megarian colonies of Byzantium³ and Chalcedon,⁴ the coast of the Euxine itself, with the exception of Bithynia, became almost entirely Milesian. In these regions the early navigators can have had no easy task. Strong currents sweep out from the Hellespont into the Aegean, and from the Bosphorus into the Propontis;⁵ while the great extent of the Euxine and its exposure to violent winds⁶ must have involved the Greek vessels in many dangers. The fact that such difficulties were faced and surmounted by the Milesian colonists leads to the conclusion that they were urged on by a powerful incentive—the wealth to be gained in these regions, as well as by the desire to find new homes, and this conclusion is further supported by the consideration of the sites chosen, which, as has been pointed out in Chapter II., were well suited for commercial development.

¹ Anax. Lamp., *loc. cit.* According to *Med. Pil.*, p. 216, Icaros (mod. Nikaria) on the south side offers temporary anchorage from offshore winds, and on the east from north or west gales.

² For details *vide infra*, pp. 56 *sqq.*

³ Hdt., IV. 144.

⁴ Thuc., IV. 75. 2.

⁵ *Med. Pil.*, 1908, IV, pp. 111 *sqq.*; *Sailing Directions for Dardanelles*, pp. 26 *sqq.*, 94 *sqq.*

⁶ Myres, *Geography and Greek Colonisation (Proceedings of the Classical Association, 1911, pp. 61 sq.)*.

Miletus was among the earliest towns to colonise; hence the facility with which she secured the best sites. Her navigators may have visited the northern shores during the ninth century B.C.; by the end of the eighth century, at least, they had probably established their first settlements there¹ and thus laid the foundation of their great carrying trade. The conditions at the time were favourable. The Phoenicians, who had once been the chief carriers in the Aegean and perhaps had even founded trading stations on the Propontis,² had by the beginning of the eighth century practically vanished from these waters,³ and the way was open to a successor.

It is unlikely, however, that the colonies founded during this early period were numerous, and there is reason for supposing that such settlements as did exist were swept away by an invasion of barbarians from the northern shores of the Euxine.⁴ Tradition assigns to the seventh century B.C. the re-establishment of some Milesian colonies and the foundation of others; and this may be considered as the chief era of Milesian expansion in the north.⁵ There were special reasons why colonisation should proceed actively at that period. The Greek aristocracies were falling,

¹ Busolt, *op. cit.*, I.², p. 464, note 6, and Appendix to the present chapter.

² Busolt, *op. cit.*, I.², p. 271.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Ps.-Scymnos, ll. 947 sq. (*Geographi Graeci Minores*), ed. Mueller, p. 236, says that the Cimmerians slew Habrondas, the leader of the Milesian settlement at Sinope. Herodotus, IV. 12, says that the Cimmerians settled on the peninsula where later stood the Greek city of Sinope.

⁵ For actual dates *vide* Appendix.

and in Miletus, as in many other cities, civil discord was rife, driving members of the defeated faction to seek new homes.¹ Further, the tyrants who were then set up may have fostered trade, as did the Cypselids of Corinth, with whom they had relations.² Lastly, it has been suggested by Lenschau that the growth of Lydian power checked any possibilities of Milesian trade with the hinterland and thus was likely to promote expansion in other directions.³ Though it has been argued in Chapter II. that Miletus can have had little interest in the caravan trade, Lydia may have interfered with the Phrygian wool supply, and the course of events proved that she was a dangerous neighbour in the Maeander plain.⁴ Therefore Miletus did well to develop her other sources of wealth in regions where there was no danger from Lydian ambition.

The Milesians also established themselves in Egypt, and their settlement in these quarters can be described with an unusual amount of detail. The first definite notice of communication between Ionia and Egypt occurs in an Assyrian inscription,⁵ which records how Gyges of Lydia sent Ionian and Carian mercenaries⁶ to the aid of Psammetichos I., King of Saïs in Lower Egypt, during his rebellion against his Assyrian over-

¹ Ps.-Scymnos (*loc. cit.*) says that the second colony at Sinope was founded by Milesian exiles.

² *Vide infra*, pp. 74 sq.

³ *Klio*, 1913, pp. 175 sqq.

⁴ *Vide infra*, pp. 70 sqq.

⁵ Translated by G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 64.

⁶ There may be some truth in the story told by Herodotus (II. 152), that Psammetichos was bidden by an oracle to seek help from "bronze men" and found these in the Ionians and Carians. But they were probably mercenaries, not pirates, as Herodotus relates.

lord, B.C. 664–650. When the war was ended these soldiers were treated with honour by the Egyptian monarch and received as their abode a site at Daphnae, near the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile,¹ where they acted as a garrison against the Assyrians and Arabians.

It is unlikely that there were Milesians among these mercenaries, who would naturally be drawn from the poorer states, as were those mentioned in the Abu-Simbel inscription belonging to the reign of Psammetichos II.² But the introduction of Greek soldiers paved the way for Greek traders. The history of the opening up of Egypt to Greek commerce³ is preserved by Strabo,⁴ who records that in the reign of Psammetichos, who lived in the time of Cyaxares the Mede, the Milesians with thirty ships sailed into the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile and there built the so-called Milesian Wall. Thence they went into the district about Saïs, and after defeating Inaros in a naval battle, founded Naukratis. This passage has sometimes been rejected⁵ as worthless on account of difficulties as to the date, but in reality it is of the utmost importance. It is true that as Cyaxares the Mede reigned from 624–585 B.C., the Psammetichos mentioned might be either the first or the second of

¹ Hdt., II. 154.

² *I.G.A.*, 482. The mercenaries came from Colophon, Teos and Ialysus, none of which were at that time very wealthy states.

³ The line of argument followed is taken from Prinz. *Funde aus Naukratis* (*Klio*, Beiheft 7, 1908), pp. 1 *sqq.*, and P. Gardner, *New Chapter in Greek History*, pp. 189 *sqq.*

⁴ XVII. i. 18.

⁵ e. g. by Flinders Petrie, *Third Memoir, Egypt Exploration Fund*, p. 4.

that name, their respective dates being 664–610 and 594–589 B.C.; but as Strabo has mentioned Psammetichos I. not long before, he may be concluded to refer to him here. Further, the only Inaros spoken of elsewhere in history is the Libyan chieftain of the fifth century B.C.; but this is no reason for doubting that the man mentioned by Strabo was one of the rivals of Psammetichos I.

The services rendered to this monarch by Greek soldiers were likely to make him favourably disposed towards Greek traders, who would naturally seek out their countrymen in the garrisons, if it was possible to do so,¹ and that it was possible may be inferred from the presence at Daphnae of Milesian vases of the seventh century B.C.²

Moreover, excavations on the site have shown that there was a flourishing Greek settlement at Naucratis in the second half of the seventh century B.C.;³ and this fact, taken in conjunction with Strabo's notice, forms a conclusive argument in favour of taking 650 B.C. as the approximate date of the foundation of Naucratis.

It is not known how long after the first arrival of the Milesians this event occurred, but no great interval can have elapsed between the two events, as both occurred in the same reign. The period of Milesian settlement in Egypt, therefore, fell within that of Milesian activity in the Propontis and the Euxine.

Naucratis soon rose to an important position in the

¹ Cp. the "canabae" which grew up round Roman camps, *e.g.* at Mainz and Vienna.

² Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ Flinders Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 38; P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

commercial world. The pottery discovered on the site gives valuable information about the various Greek states which were concerned in this venture.¹ It shows that Miletus was the first to do a considerable trade, but did not long enjoy a monopoly: Samos, Clazomenae and Lesbos had extensive dealings there during the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C., while the presence of some "proto-Corinthian" vases proves that during the seventh century B.C. European Greece was beginning to compete with Ionia for Egyptian trade.

But although the commerce with European Greece grew,² perhaps owing to the friendly relations between Egypt and Corinth under the Cypselids,³ and although Naucratis set up potteries of her own,⁴ the Milesians retained an important place among the Greek traders in Egypt; and the respect in which their city was held by the Egyptian monarchs is illustrated by the action of Psammetichos I.'s successor, Necho, who after his victory over Josiah of Judah at Megiddo, sent his battle accoutrements to Didyma as an offering to Apollo.⁵ Possibly he hoped that the oracle might supply him with fresh bands of Greek adventurers, either soldiers or traders.

About 570 B.C. the reigning Egyptian monarch,

¹ Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 41 sq., 56, 61 sq., 68 sqq. *Vide* Sappho, Fr. 138 (*P.L.G.*⁴ III., p. 133) for the story of Sappho's brother, who traded in wine from Lesbos to Naucratis. Sappho's *floruit* was about B.C. 612.

² Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The Corinthian vases of the seventh and sixth centuries are next in number to the Milesian.

³ Periander's nephew was named Psammetichos, *vide* Nic. Dam., Fr. 60 (*F.H.G.*, III., p. 363).

⁴ Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 sqq.

⁵ Hdt., IV. 159.

Apries, was dethroned by a certain Amasis,¹ who occupied Saïs. The defeat of Apries' Greek mercenaries and the presence of the enemy within a short distance of Naucratis may have been a blow to the trade of the latter city and have caused the cessation in the manufacture of scarabaei which is noticeable at that period.² However, the check was only temporary. Amasis continued the policy of his predecessors in allowing the presence of Greek traders in his country, though he forbade them to settle or to dispose of their wares in any place except Naucratis.³ This step may have been due partly to his desire to facilitate the collection of taxes and prevent smuggling and partly to solicitude for the Greeks, to whom Naucratis served as a stronghold against the jealousy of the natives, like the Steelyard of the "Men of the Emperor" in mediæval London and the Chinese "treaty-ports" in modern times.

To those Greeks who only wished to trade and did not want to take up their abode in Egypt, Amasis granted lands where they could set up altars and build temples.⁴ The largest of these temples, which also served as a market,⁵ was known as the "Hellenion," being a joint erection of the Ionians from Chios, Teos, Phocæa and Clazomenæ, Dorians from Rhodes, Cnidos, Halicarnassus and Phaselis, and Æolians from Mytilene.⁶ Separate sanctuaries, how-

¹ Hdt., IV. 162 sq., 169.

² For this suggestion *vide* Flinders Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³ Hdt., II. 179.

⁴ Hdt., II. 178.

⁵ P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 sqq.

⁶ Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, compares the Hellenion with the club and municipality in which the European nations at Shanghai combine.

ever, were consecrated by the Aeginetans, the Samians and the Milesians.¹ Evidently these three states had the most extensive commercial relations with Naucratis.

Miletus, therefore, still played a prominent part at Naucratis as late as the year B.C. 569; but the black- and red-figured Attic vases found on the site indicate that Athens began to oust her from her position shortly afterwards,² while the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates of Samos³ may have been detrimental to her interests during the latter part of the sixth century.⁴ In any case, by the close of that century Milesian traders seem to have vanished from Egypt.

¹ Hdt., *loc. cit.*

² Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³ Hdt., III. 39; cp. *infra*, p. 85.

⁴ No Samian vases of this period have, however, been found at Naucratis; *vide* Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

THE SITES AND DATES OF FOUNDATION OF THE MILESIAN COLONIES IN THE NORTH¹

I. *In the Troad.*

A colony was founded at Scepsis,² up the Scamander valley. The date is unknown.

II. *In the regions of the Hellespont and the Thracian Chersonese.*

Abydus³ secured the Asiatic side of the Hellespont passage. It was founded during the first half of the seventh century B.C., with the permission of the Lydian monarch Gyges.⁴

Cardia was set by Miletus and Clazomenae⁵ on the western side of the neck of land joining the Thracian Chersonese to the mainland. The date is unknown.

Limnae⁶ stood on the south-west side of the Thracian Chersonese. The date of its foundation is unknown.

Arisbe⁷ was close to Abydus. The date of its foundation is unknown.

Lampsacus commanded another passage of the

¹ *Vide* Map IV.

² Anaximenes of Lampsacus *ap.* Strabo, XIV. i. 6.

³ Thuc., VIII. 61. 1 ; Anax. Lamp., *loc. cit.*

⁴ Strabo, XIII. i. 22.

⁵ Anax. Lamp., *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, and Ps.-Scymnos, l. 705 (*Geog. Graec. Min.*, I., p. 223).

⁷ Anax. Lamp., *loc. cit.*

Hellespont, but was a colony of Phocaea,¹ not of Miletus, as Strabo erroneously states.² It was founded about 652 B.C.³

Coloniae, inland above Lampsacus, was possibly a Milesian colony,⁴ but more probably its mother-city was Lampsacus. Its date is unknown.

III. *In the region of the Propontis.*

Paesus⁵ was the most westerly Milesian colony on the Propontis. The date of foundation is unknown.

Parium was a joint colony of Miletus, Erythrae and Paros.⁶ It was probably founded about B.C. 710.⁷

Priapus, further along the coast, was a colony either of Miletus or of her daughter-city, Cyzicus.⁸ It may have been founded in the first part of the seventh century B.C.⁹

Cyzicus,¹⁰ on an island off the centre of the south coast of the Propontis, possessed two harbours and became an important place. There seem to have been two Milesian settlements there. According to Eusebius, the first took place about 757 B.C.,¹¹ the second about 676 B.C.¹² Possibly the first colony at Cyzicus, like the first at Sinopé, was destroyed by the barbarians.

¹ Charon of Lampsacus *ap.* Polyænum, VIII. 37.

² XIII. i. 19.

³ Euseb., *Vers. Arm.*, Abr. 1365.

⁴ Strabo, XIII. i. 19.

⁵ Anax. Lamp., *loc. cit.*

⁶ Strabo, XIII. i. 14.

⁷ Euseb., *Vers. Arm.*, Abr. 1308.

⁸ Strabo, XIII. i. 12.

⁹ Strabo (*loc. cit.*) says it may have been founded at the same time as Abydus and Proconnesus.

¹⁰ Anax. Lamp., *loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Vers. Arm.*, Abr. 1260.

¹² *Op. cit.*, Abr. 1341.

Artace¹ and Cius² were less important maritime towns colonised by Miletus at an unknown date.

Proconnesus, on an island not far from Cyzicus, was colonised by Miletus at the same time as Abydus.³

IV. *On the south coast of the Euxine.*

Heraclea Pontica was probably a joint foundation of the Megarians⁴ and of Boeotians from Tanagra,⁵ and not a Milesian colony, as Strabo states.⁶ He adds, however, that it was colonised at the time when Cyrus subdued the Medes, about the middle of the sixth century B.C. If this was the case, it is possible that the Milesians had had a trading station there, as at Cyzicus and Sinope, before the Cimmerian invasion.

Sinope was the ancient termination of the caravan route to Cappadocia and Central Asia.⁷ The Milesians seem to have had a trading post here during the eighth century B.C., but the leader, Habrondas, was slain in an invasion of barbarians from the north,⁸ who established themselves on the site.⁹ It was settled afresh about 630 B.C.¹⁰ by two Milesian exiles, Coos and Cretines,¹¹ and became an important place.

Amisus, which replaced Sinope as the termination of the caravan route,¹² was probably founded by

¹ Anax. Lamp., *loc. cit.*

² Arist., Fr. 136.

³ Strabo, XIII. i. 12.

⁴ Xen., *Anab.*, VI. ii. 1.

⁵ Ephorus, Fr. 83 (*F.H.G.*, I., p. 259); Ps.-Scymn., l. 943; Paus., V. xxvi. 6.

⁶ XII. iii. 4.

⁷ Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 27.

⁸ Ps.-Scymn., ll. 947 *sqq.*

⁹ Hdt., IV. 12.

¹⁰ Euseb., *Vers. Arm.*, Abr. 1387.

¹¹ Ps.-Scymn., *loc. cit.*

¹² Ramsay, *loc. cit.*

Phocaea about 560 B.C.,¹ and was not a Milesian colony, as Strabo states.²

Further along the coast came Cotyora and Cerasus, founded by Sinope³ at an unknown date.

Trapezus was another important colony of Sinope,⁴ and a possible outlet for the trade route through Armenia to Persia.⁵ According to Eusebius it was founded about 757 B.C.,⁶ before the destruction of the first settlement at Sinope.

Cytorus⁷ and Tius⁸ were smaller Milesian or Sinopic settlements on the coast.

V. *On the east coast of the Euxine.*

Phasis,⁹ in the region of Colchis, stood on a river of the same name. Access could be had thence to the interior, south of the Caucasus; and from the existence of such a route may have arisen the story mentioned by Hecataeus,¹⁰ that the Argonauts sailed up the Phasis to the ocean, and thence to Egypt.

Dioscurias, probably another Milesian settlement,¹¹ was a little to the north of Phasis, and also was conveniently situated for communication with the interior.¹²

The dates of the foundation of these colonies are

¹ Ps.-Scymn., l. 917. Cp. Busolt, *op. cit.*, II.², p. 483, note 1.

² XII. iii. 14. ³ Xen., *Anab.*, V. v. 10; V. ii. 3.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, IV. viii. 22.

⁵ *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., s. v. Trebizond.

⁶ *Vers. Arm.*, Abr. 1260. ⁷ Strabo, XII. iii. 10.

⁸ Arrian., *Perip. Pont. Eux.*, c. 19 (*Geog. Graec. Min.*, I., p. 385).

⁹ Heracleides Ponticus, Fr. XVIII. (*F.H.G.*, p. 218).

¹⁰ Fr. 187 (*F.H.G.*, I., p. 13).

¹¹ Arrian., *op. cit.*, c. 14 (p. 378).

¹² Strabo, XI. ii. 16, says seventy races frequented it.

unknown, but the legend of the Argonauts bears witness to the visits of Greek traders to these shores at a very early period.

VI. *In the region of the Maeotis Palus and the Tauric Chersonese.*

Panticapaeum,¹ in the Tauric Chersonese, stood upon the strait of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which connected the Maeotis Palus with the Euxine: it was therefore conveniently situated for trade with the peninsula and the mainland.

Theodosia,² on the south-east coast of the Chersonese, was another outlet for the produce of the peninsula.

Tanais, perhaps founded from another Milesian colony,³ stood at the mouth of the river of the same name; thus communication was possible with the Ural region, whence various commodities were probably brought by the barbarous inhabitants to exchange for the wares of the Greek traders.⁴

The exact dates of the establishment of Milesian colonies in this region are unknown, but they were certainly not later than the sixth century B.C.

VII. *On the north-west and west coasts of the Euxine.*

That the Milesians were familiar with this region from very early times is indicated by the antiquity

¹ Strabo, VII. iv. 4; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV. 87. Phanagoria, on the other side of the strait, was a colony of Teos (Ps.-Scymn., l. 886).

² Arrian., *op. cit.*, c. 30 (p. 394).

³ Strabo, XI. ii. 3, says it was founded by the Greeks of Bosphorus.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

of the tradition connecting the island of Leuce, off the Ister mouth, with Achilles; for the cult of that hero as a sea-god probably came from Miletus.¹ However, there is no record of any permanent settlements before the middle of the seventh century B.C. The following were important Milesian colonies.

Borysthenes, or Olbia,² stood at the mouth of the river Hypanis and near the salt-lagoon into which flowed the river Borysthenes; it was therefore well suited for tapping the trade of the interior. It was founded about B.C. 647.³

Tyras,⁴ at the mouth of the river of the same name, also commanded access to the interior. The date of foundation is unknown.

Ister, Istria or Istros,⁵ south of the delta of the Ister, was another important station, probably founded about B.C. 656.⁶

Tomi⁷ was on the coast further south. The date of its foundation is unknown.

Odessus,⁸ south of Tomi, was probably founded during the first half of the sixth century B.C.⁹

¹ Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, I. 53, 56, 58 *sqq.* The tradition is found in the *Æthiopis*, which is probably the oldest Cyclic poem, and belongs to the eighth century B.C.

² Hdt., IV. 78 *sq.*, speaks of the town of the Borysthenites, who were colonists of the Milesians. Strabo, VII. iv. 17, mentions Olbia, a Milesian colony.

³ Ps.-Scymn., l. 807, *κατὰ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐπαρχίαν*. Hieron., *A.P.R.M.*, Abr. 1370. Milesian pottery of the seventh century has been found there.

⁴ Hdt., IV. 51, Ps.-Scymn., l. 804. ⁵ Hdt., II. 33.

⁶ Ps.-Scymn., l. 809, says it was founded when the Scythians followed the Cimmerians into Asia. Euseb., *Vers. Arm.*, Abr. 1360.

⁷ Ps.-Scymn., l. 762.

⁸ Strabo, VII. vi. 1; Ps.-Scymn., l. 748 *sqq.*

⁹ Ps.-Scymn. (*loc. cit.*) says it was founded during the reign of Astyages the Mede, *i. e.* about 588–553 B.C.

Apollonia,¹ the most southerly colony on the west of the Euxine, stood upon a small island. It was probably founded about the beginning of the sixth century B.C.²

¹ Strabo, VII. vi. 1.

² Ps.-Scymn., l. 730, says it was founded fifty years before Cyrus.

CHAPTER V

RELATIONS WITH OTHER GREEK STATES

IN the ancient world commercial competition was far more severe than it is in modern times, for as trade secrets were jealously preserved¹ and the margin of wealth accumulated was less, the appearance of a rival might be regarded almost as a question of life or death. This being the case, it was natural that the expansion of Miletus should involve her in disputes with other Greek states.

At an early date Miletus sided with Chios in a war with Erythrae.² It was to be expected that, if called upon to take part in the dispute, she should choose as her ally the island which was able to give her ships anchorage in their passage northward; for the mainland coast about Erythrae, opposite Chios, is less favourable for navigation.³ Moreover, the intercourse between Miletus and Chios is likely to have been close, though the evidence on the point is not of a definite character. Aristotle⁴ says that Thales bought up the olive-presses in Chios as well as those in his own city; possibly the oil and wine of the island were exported in Milesian vessels, while the slave-

¹ Myres, *Class. Assoc. Proceedings*, 1911, p. 18.

² Hdt., I. 18.

³ *Med. Pil.*, 1900, Vol. II., p. 239.

⁴ Arist., *Pol.*, I. iv. 5.

market, for which Chios was famous, may have been supplied with numerous natives from the Euxine region:¹ lastly, a certain amount of ironwork was produced at Chios,² and the raw material for this industry could be brought from the country of the Chalybes, which was within the Milesian sphere of trade.³ However, all that can be stated with certainty is that the Chians proved themselves to be good friends of the Milesians in the struggle with Lydia, and generally followed Milesian policy.⁴

In another early war, however, which was waged between Naxos and Miletus, Erythrae supported the latter, as did many other Ionian states.⁵ Again the details are obscure. The legend relates that the war arose out of a private dispute about the wife of a certain Milesian; but it is likely that the true cause was a commercial one. The position of Naxos enabled her to interfere with communication between European and Asiatic Greece, and pottery found at Delos and Rheneia⁶ indicates that in the seventh century B.C. Miletus was trading with the Cyclades, and therefore perhaps with the mainland of Europe. Samos certainly,⁷ and other Ionian states possibly, had dealings in the same quarters; therefore this war, like the expedition of Aristagoras in 499 B.C.,⁸ may have been an attempt to secure the route across the Aegean. But the attempt failed. After many

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 22.

² Speck., *Handelsgeschichte*, II., p. 290.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 20.

⁴ *Vide infra*, p. 83.

⁵ Arist. *ap.* Plut., *De mulier. virtut.*, 17.

⁶ *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1912, p. 5.

⁷ *Vide infra*, pp. 66 sq.

⁸ *Vide infra*, pp. 90 sqq.

disasters had been suffered on both sides, the Naxians gained the upper hand, and peace was made upon their conditions, a result which naturally checked Milesian expansion in the West.

Another reason for this comparative isolation from the West may be found in the outcome of the great commercial struggle between Chalcis and Eretria, in which Miletus became involved, probably towards the end of the half-century 700–650 B.C.¹ This struggle was known as the Lelantine War, because the possession of the Lelantine Plain in Euboea was one of the points of dispute between the original combatants. But wider interests were at stake. Thucydides² says that most of Hellas took part in the conflict, in alliance with one side or the other. Miletus sided with Eretria, and Samos with Chalcis:³ Corinth was probably among the friends of Chalcis, and Megara among those of Eretria,⁴ while in the West Croton may have sided with Samos and Chalcis against Sybaris, the ally of Miletus.⁵

Though there is a lack of definite information upon the subject, the motives actuating the various combatants may be traced to a certain point. It is only necessary here to consider them in relation to Miletus.

It was natural that this state, after opening up trade with the West, should be jealous of Chalcis, whose colonies of Zancle and Rhegium⁶ controlled

¹ Busolt (*op. cit.*, I.², p. 456) assigns this war to the late eighth or early seventh century. The quarrel was probably of long standing, but it is likely that Miletus came into it late, after her commerce had developed.

² I. 15. 3.

³ Hdt., V. 99.

⁴ Vide Busolt, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ Thuc., VI. 4. 5, and 44. 3.

the straits between Sicily and Italy; even after the Milesians had won the friendship of Sybaris and thus obtained access to the "overland" route,¹ they may have found the neighbourhood of Chalcidian merchants inconvenient.

It is, moreover, likely that the rivalry between Miletus and Samos was keen enough to lead the one to side with the enemies of the other, although the numerous Samian vases of the late seventh and early sixth centuries found at Miletus² are evidence of a certain degree of friendly intercourse. But there may have been disputes between the two cities as to the land at the mouth of the Maeander valley³ before the Lelantine War; and though Samos was not a colonising power,⁴ her position was such that she could to some extent compete with Miletus for the carrying trade of the Aegean.⁵ She was trading in that region⁶ and with Naucratis⁷ during the latter half of the seventh century, and there can be no doubt that at an early date she became a power in the commercial world.

Another rival of Miletus was Corinth, who even in the eighth century B.C. was an important commercial state,⁸ doing the chief carrying trade between Euro-

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 24.

² Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 sq.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 46; cp. Wiegand and Wilamowitz (*Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1904, pp. 917 sqq.), who quote an inscription of the second century B.C., mentioning that from early times Samos had held corn land at Anaea, on the mainland opposite.

⁴ Her only known colony was Perinthus, on the north coast of the Propontis, probably founded about 599 B.C. (*Ep. Syr. of Euseb.*).

⁵ Cp. the relations between Polycrates of Samos and Miletus (*infra*, pp. 84 sq.).

⁶ *Year's Work in Class. Studies*, 1912, p. 5.

⁷ *Vide supra*, pp. 52 sqq.

⁸ Busolt, *op. cit.*, I.², p. 446.

pean Greece and the West. Her field of enterprise expanded, for the pottery discovered on the various sites proves that during the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. she had commercial relations not only with Delos¹ and Samos,² but also with Rhodes, Naucratis, Gordium, and Olbia,³ places within the sphere of Milesian activity, though no Corinthian pottery has been found at Miletus itself.⁴ There was another field, too, where Milesians and Corinthians might enter into rivalry, namely in the manufacture of fine woollen goods, for which Corinth, like Miletus, was noted.⁵

There would have been good reason, therefore, why Miletus should side with the enemy of Chalcis, Corinth, and Samos, even if she had had no other cause for friendliness towards Eretria and her allies. But if Megara was among the latter, Miletus had an additional incentive to join the Eretrian coalition. As Megara held Chalcedon and Byzantium, the keys of the Euxine, it was to the interests of Miletus to retain her friendship; while Megara, on her side, could ill afford to offend Miletus, for she had to rely largely upon imported corn.⁶ In the West, Megara had founded her Sicilian namesake, but as this colony stood upon the east coast of the island, it was not likely to encroach upon the Milesian sphere of trade in Italy. As regards the commodities in which they

¹ *Year's Work*, loc. cit.

² Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, Vol. I., p. 304.

³ Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 sq. He suggests that Samos was the intermediary.

⁴ Wiegand, *Sechster Bericht*, 1908, pp. 7 sq.

⁵ Aristophanes (*Frogs*, l. 440) speaks of στρώματα from Corinth. Cp. Antiphanes *ap. Athen.*, I. 27d.

⁶ Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, p. 421.

traded, at first sight it might be expected that Megara and Miletus would be rivals, but such was not the case. Though Byzantium was a great centre of the tunny fishery,¹ the demand for this article of food was so great as to afford ample scope for both cities. Again, Megara was noted for her woollen industry; but as she manufactured chiefly the coarser kinds of cloth, such as were used for the dress of the poor,² she did not enter into competition with Miletus. Indeed, she may have been a good customer to Miletus, buying up the inferior fleeces which were unsuitable for finer stuffs.

Lastly, Miletus may have hoped through Eretria to increase her trade with European Greece.

The Lelantine War ended in the defeat of Eretria.³ For Miletus the triumph of the alliance to which belonged Chalcis and Corinth, involved a check to expansion in the West, where she never established any colonies. A further result can be seen in the appearance of the Samians at Naucratis.⁴ In Eastern Greece, however, Miletus does not appear to have suffered by the issue of the Lelantine War; for there her commercial prosperity continued undiminished until the middle of the sixth century B.C.

The last conflict to be recorded in this chapter is

¹ Strabo, XII. iii. 11.

² Xenophon (*Mem.*, II. vii. 6) says that many Megarians lived by the industry *ἐξωμιδοποιίας*. The *ἐξωμῖς* was a sleeveless tunic worn by the poorer class; cp. Aristoph., *Ach.*, l. 519, *ἐσυκοφάντει Μεγαρέων τὰ χλανίσκια*. *Id. Pax*, l. 1002, *καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι ἐκ Μεγάρων . . . δούλοισι χλανισκιδίων μικρῶν*.

³ Towards the end of the sixth century the Lelantine Plain was in possession of the Chalcidian Hippobotæ (*Vide* Hdt., V. 77; VI. 100, and Busolt, *op. cit.*, I.², p. 457).

⁴ *Vide supra*, pp. 52 *sqq.*

one of the sixth century B.C.,¹ which arose out of a dispute between Priene and Samos about some territory on the mainland.² On this occasion Miletus allied herself with her former rival Samos and defeated the men of Priene with great slaughter near a place called the "Oak-tree." The cause of this change of policy can only be conjectured: common rivalry with Priene for the possession of the Maeander estuary would explain much, though, on the other hand, the theory³ which connects it with the Lydian overlordship of Priene and a common dread of Lydian aggression is a plausible one. But the relations between Lydia and the Ionian cities will be discussed in a separate chapter.

¹ In connection with the war Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.*, 20) mentions Bias, who was contemporary with the Persian contest under Cyrus (*vide* Hdt., I. 170).

² *C.I.G.*, 2254; Arist., Fr. 571; Plut., *loc. cit.* The Samians claimed to have held the disputed territory for a considerable period.

³ Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1906, p. 44.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONS WITH LYDIA

THERE is no definite evidence of contact between Miletus and Lydia until the first part of the seventh century B.C., during which period Gyges, the first Mermnad monarch of Lydia, raised his kingdom to the position of a strong hinterland power, having relations with Egypt and with European Greece.¹

Gyges was possibly the first to conceive the idea of exporting in large quantities the goods brought by caravans from the interior to Sardis, in which case the aggressive policy framed by himself and his successors may be explained on commercial grounds, as being due to the desire to control the seaboard and thus to secure an outlet for their merchandise. The Greek cities were the natural outlets for Lydian exports; hence the first motive for the attacks made upon them by the Mermnads. Parallels to this policy are not infrequent, being found during a later period of Greek history in the efforts of Macedonia to gain possession of maritime towns,² during the Middle Ages in the attacks of Florence upon Pisa,³ and

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 50, Hdt., I. 14, describes Gyges' offerings to the Delphic god.

² *Vide* Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 95, for a treaty between Amyntas III. and the Chalcidian League, by which Macedon secured the right to export timber.

³ Villari, *History of Florence*, p. 343.

during modern times in the envious eyes cast by the late Transvaal Republic upon Delagoa Bay.

The nearest seaport to Sardis was Smyrna, therefore it was attacked by Gyges. This attempt indeed ended in failure,¹ but he succeeded in taking Magnesia-under-Mount Sipylus² on the route to Cyme and Phocaea, as well as Colophon³ in the Caÿster valley, not far from Ephesus. Furthermore, since the aim of the Mermnads seems generally to have been not to deprive the Greek towns of their nominal independence, but to intimidate them into accepting Lydian "protection," they may have made bloodless conquests of which no record survives.

An attack was made by Gyges upon Miletus.⁴ Although this city was a considerable distance away from the direct route between Sardis and the coast, the motive may still have been a commercial one. Miletus was the mother-city of Cyzicus, which, before the Lydians established themselves at Dascylium,⁵ was the outlet for the caravan route between the Gulf of Smyrna and Propontis, and was not likely to welcome Lydian traders unless some control were exerted. However, Miletus was well protected by her strong walls,⁶ and the attack was unsuccessful. Gyges evidently thought that it was to his interest

¹ Hdt., I. 14.

² Nic. Dam., Fr. 63 (*F.H.G.*, III., p. 396). Geographical evidence leads to the conclusion that the city captured was Magnesia-under-Mount Sipylus, and not Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, as is asserted by Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 111.

³ Hdt., I. 14.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Nic. Dam. (*loc. cit.*) shows that before the end of the seventh century B.C. the Lydians, under Sadyattes, held Dascylium.

⁶ Wiegand (*Sechster Bericht*, 1908, p. 9) assigns the walls of archaic Miletus to a date before 650 B.C.

to keep on good terms with this powerful city which he could not subdue; for he allowed Miletus to found a colony at Abydus in the Troad,¹ a region which he held under his control.

About 652 B.C.,² Lydia was invaded by the Cimmerians, a horde of barbarians from the northern shores of the Euxine; Sardis was taken, and Gyges himself was slain.³ Some of the Greek cities also suffered at their hands: Magnesia-on-the-Maeander was destroyed,⁴ and Ephesus was attacked.⁵ There is no record of any attempt upon Miletus, whose wealth might have proved a tempting bait to the plunderers; either her position saved her, or the strength of her walls made the barbarians despair of success. They passed on to other districts, and appear to have been gradually dispersed and destroyed.⁶

The Lydian kingdom was left weakened by the Cimmerian invasion, and for a time there is no record of interference with the Greek cities. However, its recovery was comparatively rapid, for before the end of his reign Ardys, the successor of Gyges, was able to capture Priene.⁷ Possibly during the confusion of the preceding years some of the caravan trade had been diverted from the northern route to the Maeander valley, and Priene had temporarily profited by the change, thus becoming an especial object of jealousy to Lydia.

¹ Strabo, XIII. i. 22.

² Radet, *La Lydie*, p. 191.

³ *Vide* Assyrian inscription given in G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 64.

⁴ Archilochus, Fr. 20 (*P.L.G.*, II.⁴, p. 388); Callinus, Fr. 3 (*op. cit.*, p. 5).

⁵ Callimachus, *Hym. in Dian.*, 251; Hesychius, *s.v.* *Αύγδαμς*.

⁶ Radet, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁷ Hdt., I. 15.

The same monarch attacked Miletus¹ again without success. But the capture of Priene had brought the Lydians nearer to Miletus, and with their increased power they were unlikely to tolerate the presence of a powerful neighbour, even though their own trade was not in any way impeded. Consequently it is not surprising to find that Sadyattes and Alyattes, the successors of Ardys, made a systematic attempt to reduce the city. Its strong walls protected it against direct assault, therefore the Lydians might have been expected to lay siege to the place and thus starve it into surrender. But this, as Herodotus² remarks, was impossible, for the Milesians were masters of the sea. The following method was therefore adopted: every year when the harvest was ripe, Sadyattes marched into the territory of Miletus and destroyed all the corn and trees; the buildings were left untouched in order that the Milesians might be tempted to use them as homesteads while they cultivated their land. But, although the Milesians were not assisted by any of the Ionians except the Chians, they held out in spite of this repeated destruction of their crops and of two serious defeats inflicted upon them by the Lydians at Limenium, near the city, and in the Maeander plain. At last, in the twelfth year of the war, during the firing of the cornfields, the temple of Athena at Assessus in Milesian territory was burnt to the ground. Soon after his return to Sardis Alyattes fell ill. The oracle at Delphi was consulted, and declared that the temple

¹ Hdt., *loc. cit.*

² Hdt., I. 17. In this and the following chapters he gives a full account of the episode.

must be rebuilt. This necessitated a truce ; and when Periander of Corinth heard of the answer given, he sent news of it to Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus, who was a friend of his. Thrasybulus, thus forewarned, ordered that all the corn in the city should be brought out into the market-place, and that at an appointed signal all the Milesians should fall to feasting and revelry. Therefore when the Lydian herald arrived to ask for the truce, instead of finding great scarcity and misery, as Alyattes hoped, he found plenty and rejoicing. When Alyattes heard of this he despaired of ever reducing the city, and made with her a close treaty of friendship and alliance about the year 604 B.C.¹

This episode illustrates the importance of the maritime trade of Miletus. So long as she retained her command of the sea this trade could go on unchecked : she could import corn for her own use, and therefore could bear the destruction of that grown in her own neighbourhood ; she could obtain the raw materials for her various industries, and she could still act as a distributing centre for sea-borne merchandise. Consequently, though the Lydian raids could inflict upon her a certain amount of damage, they could not crush her.

Another noteworthy feature is the friendly attitude of Periander of Corinth towards Miletus. It may be partly explained by the fact that after the Lelantine War Miletus was little to be feared as a rival of Corinth in the West, while Periander's goodwill may have been attracted by the rule of a fellow-tyrant at Miletus and by a common hostility to Samos, who possibly had

¹ Radet, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

supported the Corinthian aristocracy overthrown by the tyrants.¹ Whatever were his motives for interfering in this case, Periander was apparently anxious to maintain peace generally; for he was on friendly terms with Alyattes,² and he reconciled Athens and Mitylene in a dispute about Sigeum.³

The terms of the treaty between Alyattes and Miletus are unknown: possibly it was nothing more than an alliance on general conditions, by which the Greek city gave up none of her independence. During the rest of Alyattes' reign she was unmolested, while that monarch pursued his conquests elsewhere.

But the treaty was not long allowed to stand: Croesus, who succeeded Alyattes about 561 B.C.,⁴ pursued a policy of ambitious aggression, attacking the Ionian and Aeolian cities and forcing them to become tributary to him.

Miletus herself was not exempt from attack. She was at this period weakened by internal strife,⁵ and was no longer entirely successful in her resistance to the invader, whose hands were strengthened against her by the growth of Lydian influence in the north-west region of Asia Minor.⁶

In the treaty which she was compelled to make with Croesus, she may have obtained more favourable terms than did some of her neighbours. Her municipal freedom was respected, though she was taxed⁷ and possibly had to furnish men for the Lydian army,

¹ As suggested by Busolt (*op. cit.*, II.², p. 467).

² Hdt., III. 48.

³ Hdt., V. 95.

⁴ Radet, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁵ *Vide infra*, p. 127.

⁶ Hdt., VI. 37; Nic. Dom., Frs. 63, 65.

⁷ Hdt., I. 27.

if required.¹ The subsequent goodwill of Croesus towards Miletus is proved by his rich offerings to Apollo at Didyma;² and Miletus certainly did not suffer great loss by her defeat. As will be shown in the next chapter, during the sixth century B.C. and the succeeding period the advance of intellectual pursuits in Miletus was such as could only proceed in the midst of material prosperity, while the luxury of the city at that period became proverbial among the ancients.³

In conclusion, therefore, it may be asserted that Lydian aggression inflicted little serious harm upon Miletus at any time. Indeed if, as Lenschau suggests,⁴ the presence of a powerful neighbour in the hinterland led to the increase of her maritime ventures, it can be said to have conferred upon her a positive blessing.

¹ Diog. Laert., I. 25, says of Thales, "Κρόισον γοῦν πέμψαντος πρὸς Μιλησίους ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἐκώλυσεν."

² Hdt., I. 92.

³ Arist., Fr. 553.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 50.

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE OF COMMERCE AND POLITICS UPON MILESIAN LITERATURE AND ART

ALLUSION has been made in the previous chapter to the intellectual development of Miletus during the sixth century B.C. The influence of commerce and politics upon this development will now be briefly considered.

Constant intercourse with many distant lands and varied nationalities gave the Milesians opportunities of acquiring a plentiful stock of miscellaneous information, especially of a geographical and physical nature. Among an active-minded people the growth of knowledge gave rise to speculation; hence the seventh and sixth centuries witnessed the growth of schools of thinkers and men of science who proceeded, according to their several bents, to classify, to explain, or to explain away.

Among the first of these three classes the most important name is that of Hecataeus,¹ who may be called the earliest Greek geographer, for to an improved version of a map made by Anaximander,² one of his fellow-countrymen,³ he added his *Περὶ ὁδοῦ*, a comprehensive treatise concerning the earth, its seas,

¹ Eratosthenes *ap.* Strabo, I. i. 11.

² Agath., I. i.

³ *Vide infra*, p. 78.

rivers, products, towns, and inhabitants, the last, however, not being, so far as we know, studied in any detail. He classified the known world into Europe and Asia, which latter includes the African continent. He seems to have visited many of the regions of which he speaks, being specially well-informed about the shores of the Euxine and the western Mediterranean. As might be expected in one who made his journeys in company with Milesian traders, his knowledge is generally confined to the coast, the one notable exception being the portion dealing with the Asiatic hinterland as approached from the Euxine.¹

Hecataeus' treatise, as has been seen, was mainly a work of classification. Previous to his time other Milesian scientists had already attempted the more difficult task of explaining the order of nature. Conspicuous among these are Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, whose inquiries took the form of an investigation into the origin of the universe; and as Burnet² points out, it is an interesting fact that Thales held the primary principle to be water, an idea very likely to occur to a thinker who had watched the constant transformation of water into land at the Maeander mouth, and who had possibly compared it with a similar process going on at the mouth of the Nile.

Lastly, as Prof. Bury remarks,³ "science and philosophy meant criticism, and it would not be long before criticism which the early thinkers applied to the material world would be systematically applied to

¹ *Vide* extant fragments, *F.H.G.*, I., pp. 1 *sqq.*

² *Early Greek Philosophy*, 1892 ed., p. 45.

³ *Ancient Greek Historians*, p. 9.

human traditions also." Thus Hecataeus was led to compose his *Γενεολογίαι*, in which he rationalised many of the Greek myths. One portion of the work dealt with the story of the Asiatic Greeks, and may have had some value as history. The same subject was chosen by a certain Cadmus of Miletus,¹ whom Pliny² calls the first historian, but no details concerning him are known.³ A later Milesian writer was Dionysius, whose *Περσικά* was probably the earliest history of the Persian Wars and may have been largely drawn upon for information by Herodotus.⁴

Such an amount of scientific and literary activity could be made possible only by the existence of a leisured class, the doctrines of the scientists in particular being evidently "the elaboration of a single idea in a school with a continuous tradition."⁵ The circumstances of Miletus in the early sixth century were favourable to the rise of such a class; for the maintenance of treaty relations with Lydia gave her peace abroad, and the rule of tyrants⁶ at home fostered her commerce and consequently her material prosperity, while it prevented many of the richer citizens from taking an active part in public affairs.

Thus far, therefore, Milesian commerce and politics

¹ Strabo, I. ii. 6, puts him with Hecataeus and Pherecydes as one of the three earliest writers of Greek prose.

² VII. 205.

³ Bury (*op. cit.*, p. 14) dismisses him as a mere genealogising epicist who happened to write in prose.

⁴ Lehmann Haupt (*Klio*, 1902, pp. 338 sq.) and Meyer (*Forschungen*, I.) contend that Herodotus made considerable use of him; but while the colouring of the latter historian is anti-Ionian, that of Dionysius was no doubt Ionian (*vide* Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 sq.).

⁵ Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 sqq.

⁶ *Vide infra*, p. 126.

were important factors in the development of science and of the more prosaic departments of literature. It remains to be seen if they were also favourable to the development of poetry and art.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the one poet who flourished at Miletus during the sixth century B.C. produced the kind of verse which is most nearly akin to prose. Phocylides of Miletus was a gnomic poet, and the fragments of his work which survive¹ prove that he was precisely the sort of man whom one would expect to find in a merchant city. "He displays a kind of prosaic worldly wisdom, for which the Ionians were celebrated. He is thoroughly bourgeois—to use a modern phrase—contented with material felicity, shrewd, safe in his opinions, and gifted with great common sense."² As a specimen of this same worldly wisdom may be quoted his advice: "Get your living and then think of getting virtue."³

In the history of Greek art Miletus plays no important part. It was probably Milesian sculptors of the sixth century who fashioned the statues lining the Sacred Way from Panormus to Didyma, but these are all characterised by a certain helpless clumsiness, and are obviously close imitations of Egyptian work.⁴ Again, though the city was for some time a centre of pottery manufacture, and the style of decoration employed during the seventh century was not inartistic, being a combination of late Mycenaean and Oriental elements,⁵ the Milesian

¹ Collected in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*, II.⁴, pp. 68 *sqq.*

² J. A. Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, Vol. I., p. 238.

³ Fr. 10.

⁴ E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 105 *sqq.*

⁵ Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, pp. 81 *sqq.*

vase-painter never attained to the same degree of artistic merit as did the Corinthians and Athenians. Lastly, the Milesian coin types are not remarkable for any especial beauty. Evidently the Milesians were not an artistic people; in their case the commercial spirit had blunted the taste for the amenities of life, so that their poetry was not poetical, and in their art they were content to follow others rather than to originate. But it is only fair to add that the fall of Miletus marks the ruin of Ionian culture.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERSIAN CONQUEST

ABOUT the year 546 B.C.¹ the ambitious career of Croesus was brought to an end by the failure of his expedition across the Halys and the consequent attack upon Sardis by the Persians under Cyrus.² Thus the Greeks of the Asiatic coast for the first time came into contact with the people who had recently taken the place of the Medes as the chief power in the East.

When preparing to carry the war into Lydia, Cyrus called these Greeks to his aid, but they refused to comply,³ either because they had little to complain of under the rule of Lydia, or because they did not believe in the possibility of its overthrow. According to Diogenes Laertius,⁴ Miletus also refused to send assistance to Croesus; and it is probable that the city desired to hold aloof from the struggle altogether. Her interests were less bound up with Lydia than was the case with Ephesus and other cities sharing in the caravan trade; and her previous experiences with Alyattes and Croesus may have made her overconfident for the future. However, neutrality was impossible. Persian rule was established in Lydia,

¹ Radet, *La Lydie*, p. 191.

³ Hdt., I. 141.

² Hdt., I. 75 *sqq.*

⁴ I. 25.

and the annexation of the Greek cities was a natural consequence: even if ambition had not urged Cyrus to extend his conquests, he would have had ample motive in the belief that it was unsafe to allow such near neighbours absolute freedom, for the Greek towns could have served the Lydians as a convenient base of operations for reconquering their country.¹ Thus, as was often the case with the Roman Empire, advance to a certain point involved a further advance, till a well-marked geographical limit was reached.²

When the Ionian and Aeolian Greeks found that Persian rule was to be established in Lydia, they sent an embassy begging Cyrus to accept their submission upon the terms which they had enjoyed under Croesus.³ This he refused to grant, reminding them how they had formerly rejected his overtures; but he made a single exception in favour of Miletus, with whom he renewed the special treaty granted by the Lydian monarch. He had little to fear from the city, despite her strength, for she was not usefully situated as a base for Lydian rebels; and she naturally thought it well to come to terms with the Persians, who as conquerors of the Lydians were gaining control over the approach to the Euxine.⁴

The Milesians and their oracle thus became supporters of Persia;⁵ and the Chians, their commercial

¹ Such an attempt was actually made by Pactyas: *vide* Hdt., I. 154 *sqq.*

² Cp. Agricola's desire to conquer Ireland, that Britain might have liberty "taken from its sight" (Tac., *Agr.*, 25).

³ Hdt., I. 141.

⁴ *Vide supra*, pp. 71 *sq.*

⁵ Hdt., I. 157. The oracle at Branchidae advised the men of Cyme to deliver up Pactyas the Lydian to the Persians.

allies, followed their example.¹ The other Ionians were gradually reduced to subjection, with the exception of the Phocaeans, most of whom emigrated to Corsica.²

Miletus may have reaped some advantage from the decline of Phocaea, who had carried on an extensive trade in the West;³ but on the whole, despite her early submission, she suffered from the Persian conquest in the same ways as did her neighbours. Like them she was compelled to endure the rule of a tyrant in the Persian interests,⁴ and doubtless she felt the burden of military service and of forced contributions. It is true that she had paid tribute to Croesus, and possibly had been expected to furnish a contingent for his army; but under Persian rule taxation took the form of undefined compulsory presents,⁵ which gave ample room for arbitrariness and extortion, while the military undertakings of the Persians were on a more extensive scale than those of the Lydians.⁶

However, although Persian rule was burdensome to the city, already weakened by party strife,⁷ it was not in itself a sufficient reason for any great decrease in her mercantile prosperity. A more serious blow was struck at Miletus by the piracy

¹ Hdt., I. 160. The Chians gave up Pactyas to the Persians.

² Hdt., I. 166.

³ Hdt., I. 163.

⁴ Hdt., IV. 137.

⁵ Hdt., III. 89.

⁶ Histiaeus of Miletus took part in the Scythian expedition of Darius (*vide* Hdt., IV. 83), and Ionians were called upon to serve under Cambyses in Egypt (Hdt., II. 1).

⁷ *Vide infra*, p. 127.

of Polycrates of Samos.¹ This adventurer, assisted by Lygdamis of Naxos,² seized upon the government of his island about 533 B.C.,³ and speedily rose to great power. He kept up a force of a thousand bowmen, and a fleet of a hundred penteconters. Many of the islands and some of the mainland towns were subdued by him, and, according to Herodotus, he plundered friend and foe without distinction. His pirate fleet must often have captured vessels bound to and from Miletus, who deriving as she did her chief wealth from maritime trade, naturally suffered severely. The story that Polycrates obtained flocks from Miletus⁴ should not be interpreted as evidence of a friendly feeling towards that city; on the contrary, it betokens a desire to foster the resources of his own country, which had long been the rival of Miletus. Therefore it was natural that Polycrates should attack Miletus with especial persistency. The Lesbians, whose trade had doubtless suffered likewise from the Samian attacks, came to the help of the Ionian city, but were defeated; and although Polycrates failed to take Miletus, the damage done to her commerce must have been serious. The power of the tyrant was shortlived, for about 523 B.C. he was captured and put to death by the Persian satrap of Sardis; but the effects of his treatment of Miletus were lasting.

It is during this period, too, that Athens appeared

¹ Hdt., III. 39-47; 54; 56; 120-125.

² Polyænus, I. 23. 2.

³ *Vide* Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II.², p. 508.

⁴ Cytus the Aristotelian *ap.* Athen., XII. 540d.

as a rival to Miletus. Possibly, despite the impartial plundering with which Herodotus credits him, Polycrates showed favour to Athenian vessels, for Lygdamis of Naxos, to whom he owed his successful usurpation, was a friend of Peisistratus.¹ In the middle of the sixth century Peisistratus had sent out the elder Miltiades to be the ruler of the Thracian Chersonese,² thus partially controlling the approach to the Propontis; and again between 535 B.C. and 528,³ he took advantage of the weakened condition of the Lesbians to encroach on their *περὰ* by making a settlement at Sigeum in the Troad.⁴

The steps by which Athenian trade expanded in the Propontis and the Euxine cannot be traced in detail; but its progress was rapid, for the pottery discovered on various sites proves that at the end of the sixth century Attic wares predominated over those of Miletus even on the north coast of the Euxine.⁵

At Naukratis also the Athenian trade displaced the Milesian. The change may have begun somewhat earlier than the reign of Polycrates,⁶ being possibly due to Peisistratus' encouragement of commerce; but it seems reasonable to connect the friendship between Polycrates and Amasis on one

¹ Hdt., I. 64.

² Hdt., VI. 34 *sqq.*

³ *Vide* Busolt, *op. cit.*, II.², p. 374.

⁴ Hdt., V. 95 *sq.* It is frequently asserted that the Athenians had made an attempt to establish themselves at Sigeum in the seventh century, but Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.*, I.², p. 330 note) shows that this is improbable; Athens was too weak at the time.

⁵ E. von Stern, *Die griechische Kolonisation aus Nordgestade des Schwarzen Meeres* (*Klio*, 1909, pp. 144 *sq.*).

⁶ *Vide* Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, p. 122.

hand,¹ and Polycrates and Athens on the other, with the rapid increase in Athenian imports, which by the end of the century had completely ousted Milesian pottery,² and no doubt other wares as well.

That there was commercial intercourse between the rival cities themselves during the latter half of the sixth century is proved by the discovery of numerous black-figured and red-figured Attic vases in Miletus.³ As Attic pottery was of higher artistic merit than that of Miletus, its importation into that luxurious city does not of itself indicate any decline in Milesian trade; but it shows how the Athenian sphere of enterprise was widening, and taken in conjunction with the evidence from Egypt and the Euxine, it is a sign that Athens, and not Miletus, was to be the great commercial city of the future.

The next event bearing upon the history of Miletus was the reorganisation of his dominions by Darius,⁴ who became King of Persia about 521 B.C. He divided them into twenty satrapies, upon each of which he imposed a fixed tribute instead of the irregular "presents" exacted by his predecessors. The Ionian satrapy paid 400 talents, a sum considerably larger than the average of 60 talents contributed by the Ionian district under the Athenian Confederacy;⁵ but the Persian taxes were drawn

¹ Hdt., III. 39.

² Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 122.

³ Wiegand, *Sechster Bericht*, 1908, p. 7; *Siebenter Bericht*, 1911, p. 6.

⁴ Hdt., V. 89 sq.

⁵ *Vide* quota-lists (Hill, *Sources for Greek History*, 478-431 B.C., pp. 43 sqq.).

from a wider area and therefore were not excessive. To the same period may be ascribed the transformation of the old northern trade route into a "Royal Road" to Susa, which carried the king's post by relays of messengers through a continuous line of roadway stations.¹ The hold of Darius upon his outlying dominions was thus strengthened; and as petty tyrants like Oroetes, the murderer of Polycrates,² must previously have been able to blackmail the coast towns heavily, Miletus and the other Ionian cities could hardly fail to profit by the more settled government and regular tribute.

A theory has been advanced by Lenschau³ to the effect that Darius aimed at minimising the power of the Asiatic Greeks, and sought to achieve this by favouring Phoenician traders at the expense of Miletus and her neighbours. But though this suggestion cannot be disproved by subsequent events, there is as yet no direct evidence, archæological or literary, in support of it. The truth probably was that Darius paid no great attention to his Greek subjects, until he was forced to do so by their determined revolt.

Some light is thrown upon the state of feeling in Ionia at the time, by Herodotus' account⁴ of an incident in the Scythian expedition, which may be dated about 513 B.C.⁵ Histiaeus, the tyrant of Mi-

¹ Hdt., V. 52; VIII. 98.

² Herodotus (III. 120) says that Oroetes had suffered no injury from Polycrates, who was seized by him and put to death.

³ *Zur Geschichte Ioniens* (*Klio*, 1913, pp. 175 *sqq.*).

⁴ IV. 97 *sq.*; 136 *sqq.*

⁵ Busolt, *op. cit.*, II.², p. 525, note 1.

letus, was present with his contingent ; and when his fellow-tyrants plotted to free themselves from Persian rule by breaking down the bridge over the Danube and leaving Darius to perish in the interior of Scythia, he prevented them by the argument that their own sovereignty depended upon the goodwill of Persia. This story points to the conclusion that there existed a certain amount of disaffection among the Greeks, as was natural in states deprived of complete freedom ; but that the tyrants recognised a friend in Darius, which could hardly have been the case had he been openly endeavouring to reduce them to poverty, as must have happened had the trade of their cities been killed by Phoenician competition.

Herodotus¹ further relates that when Darius offered Histiaeus a reward for his loyalty, he asked for Myrcinus, in the country of the Edonian Thracians, where he wished to build a city. The choice was one which might well be made by the ruler of a commercial state. Being situated near the Strymon, the settlement would command the routes along the coast and into the interior, while in the neighbourhood were valuable gold and silver mines² and an abundance of timber.³ The importance of the site is illustrated by the history of Amphipolis, a later foundation in the same region ; and if the scheme had been successful, it would have brought profit to Miletus. The wealth of timber would have been of especial value, as she was losing her supremacy in the

¹ V. 11.

² Hdt., V. 23 ; Thuc., IV. 105. 1.

³ Hdt., *loc. cit.*

Euxine and the home-grown supplies cannot have been inexhaustible.

The request of Histiaeus was granted, but he was not long suffered to remain in possession of his new acquisition. Megabates, the general left behind by Darius,¹ may have been impressed, during his operations in Thrace, with the strong military position of Myrcinus; for upon his return to Sardis he warned Darius against allowing Histiaeus to make himself too powerful. Darius followed this advice, and Histiaeus was obliged to become the guest of the Persian monarch at Susa.²

In the absence of Histiaeus, his nephew and son-in-law, Aristagoras, acted as regent.³ It was during this period that Miletus, already weakened by the depredations of Polycrates and the expansion of Athenian commerce, suffered a further blow in 510 B.C. by the destruction of Sybaris, her market in the West.⁴ Her fortunes were therefore at a low ebb, and it was natural that Aristagoras should welcome an opportunity of retrieving them, whether from selfish or from patriotic motives.

Such an opportunity presented itself in 500 B.C., when some Naxian exiles came to Miletus asking for help on the ground that Histiaeus was their guest-friend.⁵ Naxos was the richest of the Cyclades;⁶ and, moreover, it lay on the route to European

¹ Hdt., V. 1.

² Hdt., V. 123 *sq.*

³ Hdt., V. 30.

⁴ Hdt., V. 44. For date *vide* Busolt, *op. cit.*, II.², p. 759.

⁵ Herodotus (V. 30 *sqq.*) gives the story of the Naxian expedition.

⁶ Hdt., V. 28.

Greece, a route on which Miletus had formerly tried to secure a footing by her alliance with Eretria, one of its European termini. This being the case, it is not surprising to learn from Herodotus that Aristagoras undertook to restore the exiles, hoping to make himself master of their island.

But although Darius gave his support to the project and furnished a fleet and army, the expedition was a failure ;¹ and after fruitlessly laying siege to Naxos for four months, it returned to Asia Minor.

Herodotus depicts Aristagoras as being now in a difficult position. Not only was he unable to make good his promises to the Persian, but he had not even enough money to pay his own troops. Fearing that he would be deprived of the government of Miletus, he began to plot a revolt against Persia. In this he was encouraged by the arrival of a slave, despatched by Histiaeus from Susa with a message tattooed upon his head, bidding Aristagoras to rebel ; for Histiaeus was weary of being at Susa and hoped to be sent down to the coast to quell the revolt.

Aristagoras therefore summoned a council of his friends, and all, with the exception of Hecataeus, the geographer, supported his plan. The latter, when he found that his warning was disregarded, advised the Ionians to make themselves masters of the sea and to seize the treasures at Didyma. The Ionian fleet was still at Myus, where it had anchored after its return to Naxos ; and when the revolt was decided upon, an officer was despatched thither to seize the tyrants who were in command, and to take possession

¹ I. 35 *sqq.*

of the ships. Aristagoras laid down his own power and established a democracy,¹ apparently, however, retaining the direction of affairs in his own hands as general.² The tyrants were put down and democracies were established in the other Ionian cities, with the probable exceptions of Ephesus, Colophon and Lebedus, which are never mentioned as taking an active part in the revolt.³ These exceptions are comprehensible: Ephesus derived great wealth from caravan trade with the East, and therefore wished to remain on good terms with Persia; the other two cities may have participated in this trade, and in any case they were near enough to Ephesus to find it well to follow her policy.

The above account by Herodotus obviously contains a good deal of misinterpretation. It is impossible to believe that the Ionians revolted simply to save the situation for Aristagoras, or that Histiaeus devised so indirect a method of procuring his own return. The truth is that the Ionian cities were ripe for revolution.⁴ Their commerce, though apparently not thwarted by Persia, had from various causes declined during the preceding period, and they were therefore in a discontented condition. Moreover, the institution of tyrannies towards the close of the sixth century B.C. was an anachronism and was felt to be burden-

¹ Hdt., V. 37, *ισονομίην ἐποίηε τῇ Μιλήτῳ*.

² Herodotus (V. 38) says that *στρατηγοί* were chosen in the various cities.

³ They did not furnish ships at Lade (Hdt., VI. 8).

⁴ For theory of the existence of widespread disaffection towards Persia, even before Histiaeus went up to Susa, *vide* Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, pp. 85 *sqq.*

some. Aristagoras perceived that the power of the tyrants was tottering; and having involved himself in difficulties with Persia, he seized what he thought was an opportunity of saving himself by instigating a revolt against that power, the friend of the tyrants. The other cities readily joined in a scheme for driving out their rulers. Neither they nor Aristagoras realised how hazardous was such an attempt: they do not seem to have appreciated what Darius had done to consolidate Persia. But the geographical researches of Hecataeus had acquainted him with the strength and resources of the Persian empire;¹ hence his opposition to the scheme. It is noticeable that a true estimate of the nature of Milesian power in past days is summed up in the advice attributed to him—that the Ionians should make themselves masters of the sea. But Persia had a fleet, and was therefore a more dangerous enemy than Lydia had been.

The overthrow of the tyrants probably took place in the autumn of 499 B.C.,² and the winter months were occupied by the Ionians in preparations. Aristagoras journeyed to Europe in search of allies, and though at Sparta he failed to win over King Cleomenes,³ with the Athenians he was more successful. They were already on bad terms with the Persians, who had taken up the cause of their exiled tyrant Hippias, and they therefore agreed to furnish

¹ He had some acquaintance with the Asiatic hinterland as approached from the Euxine.

² The chronology is that of Macan (*Hdt.*, IV.–VI., Vol. II., App. V., pp. 62 *sqq.*

³ *Hdt.*, V. 49 *sqq.*

the Ionians with twenty ships.¹ The Eretrians, the old allies of Miletus, supplied five more.² Having secured the promise of these reinforcements, Aristagoras returned to Miletus without waiting for them to accompany him.³

It is uncertain what was the exact state of affairs which he found on his return. The first military operation recorded by Herodotus⁴ is the Ionian attack upon Sardis, which Aristagoras planned on his return to Miletus. But Plutarch, in his treatise *De Malignitate Herodoti*,⁵ declares that Miletus was besieged, and that the Ionians created a diversion by marching on Sardis, where the Eretrians, who had previously defeated the Cyprian contingent of the Persian fleet off Pamphylia, performed good service by blockading the Persian satrap in the citadel, and thus forced the enemy to raise the siege of Miletus. The story is worthy of credence: it is improbable that the Ionians were long left to pursue their plans without molestation; and Miletus, as the centre of the revolt and the leading city of Ionia, was the natural object of their first attack.⁶ If this siege did take place, the Greek advance upon Sardis may be regarded as an attempt to relieve Miletus by striking at the Persian communications.

However that may be, it is certain that during the campaign of 498 B.C. an attack was made on Sardis,⁷ the stronghold of Persian power in those regions.

¹ Hdt., V. 96 sq.

² Hdt., V. 99.

³ Hdt., V. 98.

⁴ V. 99 sqq.

⁵ xxiv.

⁶ Cp. Persian directness in besieging Sardis, the centre of Lydian power, in 546 B.C.

⁷ Hdt., V. 100.

The Ionians, leaving their fleet in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, marched up the Cayster valley and across mount Tmolus to Sardis. Although they failed to capture the citadel, they burnt the city and thus roused the Lydians and Persians to resistance. Persian reinforcements were approaching—possibly from the siege of Miletus—and the Ionians retreated. But the Persians caught them up near Ephesus and inflicted upon them a defeat. The Ionians then dispersed to their various cities, and the Athenians returned home.

Despite Herodotus' assertion to the contrary, the defeat can hardly have been a very severe one; for the revolt soon spread to the Hellespont,¹ to Aeolis,² and to Caria,³ and for a time the Ionian fleet assisted the Cyprians in a vain attempt to throw off the yoke of Persia.⁴

However, it was not long before decisive measures were taken by the Persian commanders, and the coasts of the Propontis and Hellespont, together with various Aeolian cities of the Troad, and Clazomenae and Cyme, were in turn reduced to submission.⁵ An attack was made on Caria, and the rebels were twice defeated, but subsequently enticed the Persian forces into an ambush, where the general and many others were killed.⁶

Despite this last victory, the success of the Persians in the campaigns of 497 and 496 B.C. was rapid

¹ Hdt., V. 103.

³ Hdt., V. 103.

⁵ Hdt., V. 116 *sq.*; 122 *sq.*

⁶ Hdt., V. 117 *sqq.*

² Hdt., V. 123.

⁴ Hdt., V. 104 *sqq.*

enough to cause the Ionians grave fears as to the result of their revolt. Realising this, and doubtless foreseeing that Miletus would before long be attacked, Aristogoras departed to Myrcinus in Thrace, once the property of Histiaeus, where he soon afterwards perished in an attack upon a native town.¹ His desertion of the Ionian cause seems to have been the act of a selfish adventurer: the struggle was not yet hopeless, and Myrcinus could be of little immediate use.

Soon after the departure of Aristogoras, Histiaeus appeared at Sardis, having apparently persuaded Darius to send him down to assist in quelling the revolt.² It is impossible to determine what were the exact motives which dictated his actions. He may have been aiming at the position of leader among the Asiatic Greeks, if possible, or failing this, of an independent satrap not responsible to any Persian governor.³ On the other hand, he may really have been a loyal friend of the Great King, who honoured and trusted him, while the jealousy of the leading Persians in Ionia prevented him from accomplishing his aims.⁴ However that may have been, the Persian satrap refused to accept his co-operation, and the Milesians would not receive their tyrant again. He therefore obtained some ships from the Lesbians, and taking up his position near Byzantium, he proceeded to attack the Ionian merchantmen which

¹ Hdt., V. 124 *sqq.*

² For the doings of Histiaeus *vide* Hdt., V. 107 ; VI. 1 *sqq.*

³ The view of Grundy, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁴ This is the view of Heinlein (*Histaios von Milet.*, in *Klio*, 1909, pp. 341 *sqq.*).

passed out of the Euxine, thus making himself particularly unpleasant to the Milesians.

At length, in the spring of 494 B.C., the Persians determined to attack Miletus, and assembled their army and fleet for that purpose.¹ At a meeting held at the Panionium it was resolved that no land force should be collected to defend Miletus, who was to guard her own walls as best she could. The whole naval force of the Ionians was to concentrate off the island of Lade,² in the hope of protecting the city. This fleet numbered 353 triremes; the Chian contingent of 100 was the largest; Miletus came next with 80.³ The Persian fleet consisted of 600 vessels.⁴ Such are the numbers given by Herodotus, and there is no reason for doubting his accuracy as far as the Ionians are concerned: even in the fifth century B.C. Chios maintained about 60 ships,⁵ and in 440 B.C. Samos equipped 70 sail.⁶ The Persian total, however, is suspiciously high; probably it represented the paper strength of a general mobilisation.⁶

At first the Persians attempted to open negotiations with the Ionians through their former tyrants, but without success:⁷ possibly the determination not to yield may have been strengthened by a rumour that Darius intended to deport the Ionians to Phoenicia,⁸ The Ionian cities, and Miletus in particular, owed

¹ Hdt., VI. 6.

² Hdt., VI. 7. For the position of Lade *vide* Map I.

³ Hdt., VI. 8.

⁴ Hdt., VI. 9.

⁵ Thuc., VIII. 6. 4. Some of these may have belonged to Erythrae.

⁶ *Vide* Tarn, *The Fleet of Xerxes* (J.H.S., 1908, pp. 202 *sqq.*).

⁷ Hdt., VI. 9 *sq.*

⁸ Hdt., VI. 3.

everything to their site, and therefore, like Carthage in 150 B.C., they were bound to resist such an attempt to the death.

In the first flush of their enthusiasm they submitted to energetic discipline; but after a week they became weary of continual activity and refused to go on board their ships.¹ The Samians had been influenced by their former tyrant; and when they saw the confusion in the Ionian fleet, they determined to save themselves from probable defeat, and accepted the Persian overtures.² The commercial rivalry between their city and Miletus may have contributed to their decision: possibly they hoped that their tyrant, favoured by Persia, would restore Polycrates' thalassocracy.

The defection of the Samians probably encouraged the Persians to attack, for the battle began soon after they had arrived at their decision.³ With the exception of eleven faithful ships, they sailed away; and their example was soon followed by the Lesbians and most of the other Ionians. The Chians, the ancient allies of Miletus, fought with the utmost bravery, but were at length routed, and the Persians were left masters of the situation.

After the battle of Lade, Miletus was blockaded by land and sea;⁴ mines were driven under the walls, and every possible device was used against her. It is not known whether her strong walls fell in the end, or whether, cut off as she was from the sea, she was

¹ Hdt., VI. 11 *sq.*

² Hdt., VI. 13 *sq.*

³ For details of the battle *vide* Hdt., VI. 14 *sqq.*

⁴ Hdt., VI. 18.

starved into surrender. However, surrender she did, six years from the time when the revolt first broke out under Aristagoras. Most of the men were slain; a few escaped to the West.¹ According to Herodotus, the rest, together with the women and children, were enslaved and carried away to Susa.² Darius treated them leniently, and established them at Ampe, near the mouth of the Tigris.³

The sanctuary at Didyma was plundered and burnt;⁴ but the Branchidae, the hereditary priests of Apollo, saved their lives by a timely submission, and were transported into the interior of Asia.⁴ This transportation suggests that they had previously sided with Miletus and helped to unite the Asiatic Greeks, either from spontaneous patriotism, or at the instigation of Aristagoras.

The city of Miletus was destroyed,⁵ and its territory was divided: the Persians kept the city itself and the land in the plain, while the portion called by Herodotus *τὰ ὑπεράκρεια* was given to the Carians of Pedasus.⁶

For some time after the fall of Miletus Histiaeus continued his raids, but at last he fell into the hands of the Persian commanders, and was put to death at Sardis. His head is said to have been sent to Darius,

¹ Hdt., VI. 22.

² Hdt., VI. 19.

³ Probably identical with Ampelone, mentioned as a Milesian colony by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VI. 159).

⁴ Hdt., VI. 19.

⁵ Herodotus (VI. 32) says that the Persians burnt all the Ionian cities. This is probably an exaggeration; but the excavations at Miletus prove that some such destruction did take place there (Wiegand *Siebenter Bericht*, 1911, p. 6).

⁶ Hdt., VI. 20.

who was much displeased at the execution, and ordered the head to be buried with great care, as Histiaeus had done good service to the Persians.¹ This story supports the theory that Histiaeus had been merely the enemy of individual satraps and not the opponent of Persian supremacy in Ionia.

The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus, and during 493 B.C. completed the subjugation of the Ionians, reducing the islands and the mainland towns, and re-establishing the tyrants.² "Thus," says Herodotus,³ "were the Ionians for the third time reduced to slavery; once by the Lydians, and a second, and now a third time by the Persians."

The above history of the relations between Miletus and Persia may be briefly summed up as follows. The interests of Miletus did not clash seriously with those of Persia; and as the maritime supremacy of that city was seriously menaced by other Greeks, it would have been worth her while to open up new connections with the hinterland by keeping on good terms with Persia. But she resented Persia's interference in her local affairs, an event unprecedented in her history, and therefore sided with Aristagoras, thus bringing destruction upon herself.

¹ Hdt., VI. 26 *sqq.*

² Hdt., VI. 43.

³ VI. 31 *sq.*

CHAPTER IX

MILETUS AND THE FIRST ATHENIAN CONFEDERACY

THE language used by Herodotus in describing the punishment inflicted upon Miletus at the termination of the siege points to the conclusion that all the inhabitants were either killed or exiled to distant lands; but his account of subsequent events necessitates a modification of this view.

It was, indeed, not the Milesians, but the Samians who took the lead in 479 B.C., when the European Greeks were urged to cross over to Asia Minor and free the Ionian cities from the Persian yoke;¹ but Milesians are found playing a part in the battle of Mycale, which followed the arrival of the European fleet off the Asiatic coast during that same year. Herodotus² says that there were Ionians among the troops in the Persian camp, and their loyalty was suspected. The Persians therefore disarmed the Samians before the battle, and sent the Milesians to guard the passes of Mycale, ostensibly because they were well acquainted with the paths, but really in order to remove them from the camp, where they might have stirred up a mutiny. In the battle the Ionians

¹ Hdt., IX. 90 *sqq.*

² IX. 99 *sqq.*

deserted to the Greeks and thus secured the defeat of the Persians. The Milesians guided the fugitives by wrong roads, and eventually turned upon them and slew many.

These Milesians were evidently Greeks, like the Samians and other Ionians. But if Milesians were present at the battle of Mycale in 479 B.C., they cannot all have been slain or exiled to distant lands in 494 B.C. The most probable explanation is that some of those who escaped did not sail away to the West, but remained dispersed in the neighbouring hill country or in the other Ionian cities, until Mardonius came down from Susa in 492 B.C., and finding the country completely subjugated, allowed the tyrants to be deposed once more, and democracies to be set up in their stead.¹ When the Persians made this concession with regard to the form of government, they may also have allowed the scattered remnants of the Milesians to re-settle on the site of their native city, for the strength of Miletus was effectually broken and was no longer to be feared by the conquerors. It is, of course, also possible that no re-settlement had as yet been made, but that the Milesians participating in the campaign of Mycale had merely been gathered out of the cities in which they had taken refuge; however, this is less probable, as they evidently formed a definitely organised contingent in the Persian army.

But whatever were the exact details, Miletus was almost certainly a city again at least from 479 B.C. With her swift restoration may be compared that of Eretria, which was destroyed and desolated by the

¹ Hdt., VI. 43.

Persians in 490 B.C.,¹ but was in existence again in 480.²

In the winter of 478–7 B.C. the Delian Confederacy was formed under the hegemony of Athens;³ and as Miletus had again incurred the enmity of Persia, and must still have been too weak to stand alone, it is likely that she joined the Confederacy at an early date. It is true that this was not the case with all the Ionian cities: Ephesus at least was still Persian when Themistocles went to Asia about 468–5 B.C.;⁴ but that city probably found it to her interest then, as in 499 B.C., to keep on good terms with Persia. However, nothing can be stated with certainty as to the relations between Miletus and the Confederacy previous to its transformation into an Athenian Empire; though it is likely that from the beginning she commuted for an annual money payment the obligation to furnish ships,⁵ an arrangement which would naturally be welcome to the weaker cities.

In the quota-list of 454 B.C., the first drawn up after the removal of the confederate treasury from Delos to Athens, the Milesians “of Leros and Teichiussa” only are mentioned;⁶ and their name does not occur at all in the list of 453 B.C.; but as the inscriptions are in an imperfect condition, this is no proof either that Miletus was not a member of the Con-

¹ Hdt., VI. 101.

² Hdt., VIII. 1.

³ Thuc., I. 96; Arist., *Resp. Ath.*, 23.

⁴ Thuc., I. 137. 3. For the dates *vide* Busolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 *sqq.*

⁵ Thuc., I. 99, implies that this was done by some cities from the first.

⁶ For the quota-lists *vide* Hill, *Sources for Greek History*, Chap. II.

federacy or that she was supplying ships. She appears on the list for 452 B.C., and at intervals throughout the series.

Further information as to the relations between Athens and Miletus is furnished by an inscription belonging to the year 450-49 B.C.¹ Here Athens is recorded to have regulated some of the internal affairs of Miletus, probably on the occasion of civil strife,² and at the same time to have established there a garrison and two guard-ships,³ with a view to securing her hold upon a place so strategically important. The same course was followed by her at Erythrae, as is proved by a similar inscription;⁴ therefore it is unnecessary to conclude that her treatment of Miletus was specially harsh.

In 440 B.C. a dispute broke out between Miletus and Samos concerning Priene,⁵ whose lands were naturally coveted by both cities as forming part of the fertile Maeander plain, a region of which the importance was increased for Miletus, now that she could no longer control the sea. She was worsted, and, together with certain Samians who desired a revolution in their own city, she applied to Athens for help. Athens took up the cause of Miletus, for it was to her interest to weaken the more powerful Samos. The revolt and reduction of Samos were the result.

It is not known whether Miletus derived much advantage from the fall of her rival: the amount

¹ Hill, *op. cit.*, Chap. I., No. 129. ² *Vide infra*, p. 136.

³ "[τῶ]ν φρουρῶν κύριοι" and "φρορίδε" are mentioned.

⁴ Hicks and Hill, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 32.

⁵ Thuc., I. 115 *sqq.*

paid by her is missing from the quota-lists for the years immediately succeeding, and there is no other evidence by which the exact measure of her prosperity during those years can be determined. Certain general conclusions as to the whole period, however, can be drawn from the following evidence.

On the one hand Miletus was deprived of all her former spheres of activity abroad. The Egyptian market had been lost to her even before the Ionian Revolt. Her activity in the West had probably ended in 510 B.C. with the fall of Sybaris: Thurii, established upon the same site about 444-3 B.C., was an Athenian foundation.¹ In Thrace the planting of colonies at Brea in the country of the Bisaltae about 446 B.C.,² and at Amphipolis near the mouth of the Strymon about 436 B.C.,³ secured Athenian predominance in the region where Histiaeus had once endeavoured to establish Milesian influence. In Andros⁴ and Naxos,⁵ both of them important posts on the lines of communication between European and Asiatic Greeks, cleruchies were planted by Athens about the same time as the settlement was made in Brea.

In the regions of the Hellespont and the north coast of the Euxine, Athens had, as has been seen, gained a footing before the end of the sixth century; but while she was engaged in her struggle with Persia there was a cessation in her activity in the Euxine, which is proved by the absence of pottery belonging

¹ Plut., *Pericles*, 11; Diod., XII. x. 3.

² Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, No. 41.

³ Thuc., IV. 102; Diod., XII. xxxii. 3.

⁴ Plut., *Per.*, 11. ⁵ Plut., *loc. cit.*; Diod., XI. lxxxviii. 3.

to that period.¹ However, after her victory over Persia and her rise to the status of an imperial power, her operations in this quarter were resumed. In the Propontis, Cyzicus, a colony of Miletus, became a member of the Delian Confederacy,² as did also Byzantium³ and Chalcedon,⁴ the keys of the Euxine; and the approaches to the Hellespont and the Propontis were rendered more secure by Pericles about 446 B.C., when he established cleruchies in the Thracian Chersonese,⁵ and probably at Lemnos and Imbros.⁶ Thus the avenues to the Euxine trade were in Athenian hands; tolls were probably levied at Byzantium upon all vessels passing out of the Euxine;⁷ and the final blow to any hopes which Miletus might have entertained of regaining her influence in that quarter was dealt by the expedition of Pericles, which probably took place soon after the Samian War.⁸ To the same period may be assigned the Athenian colonisation of Astacus⁹ on the Propontis and Amisus¹⁰ on the Euxine. Six hundred Athenians settled at Sinope,¹¹ once an important Milesian trading station, and it is likely that Pericles also visited the Cimmerian Bosphorus and entered into friendly relations with the native ruler of the district. The Athenian settlement at Nymphaeum,¹² a good harbour not far from Panticapaeum, was probably the outcome of this visit; and Olbia and Tyana may

¹ Von Stern, *Die griechische Kolonisation am Nordgestade des Schwarzen Meeres* (Klio, 1909, pp. 144 sq.).

² *Vide* quota-lists.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Plut., *Per.*, 11.

⁶ *Vide* Busolt, *op. cit.*, III. i., p. 414.

⁷ Hill, *op. cit.*, Chap. III. 310.

⁸ Plut., *Per.*, 20.

⁹ Strabo, XII. iv. 2.

¹⁰ Theopompus *ap.* Strabo, XII. iii. 14.

¹¹ Plut., *Per.*, 20.

¹² *Vide* Hill, *op. cit.*, Chap. III., Nos. 307, 308.

have joined the Confederacy at the same time.¹ The pottery which has been discovered in these regions proves that Athens was the supreme commercial state there up to the end of the fourth century B.C.²

It is therefore evident that Miletus lost her control of the maritime trade; and it is noticeable that during the fifth century B.C. only two Milesian vessels are explicitly mentioned, the one as being on guard at Miletus,³ and the other, owned by a privateer, as making a specially rapid journey.⁴

On the other hand, some of the industries carried on in Miletus still continued to be famous, and from them her chief wealth must have been derived at that period. The allusions of Aristophanes to Milesian fish⁵ prove that this was an article of export; some of Alcibiades' furniture came from Miletus;⁶ and Aristophanes speaks highly of Milesian rugs and wool.⁷ Some of the raw materials for the last two industries may have been brought from the Euxine in Athenian vessels, for the imperial city did not require all the supplies herself; and as the Persians prevented access to the Phrygian wool, the Milesians would naturally be willing to give good prices for that from the Euxine.

The above review of the circumstances attending Milesian commerce at this period leads to the expectation that the wealth of the city will be found to have been moderate, and this expectation is confirmed in various ways.

¹ *Op. cit.*, No. 308.

³ Thuc., VIII. 61. 2.

⁵ *Vide supra*, p. 8 note.

⁷ *Vide supra*, p. 10.

² Von Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

⁴ Xen., *Hellen.*, II. i. 30.

⁶ *Vide supra*, p. 10.

The amount of tribute which she paid was not high, being 10 talents in 450 B.C., 5 in 443 and 440 B.C.,¹ and possibly 10 again after 425 B.C.,² when the tribute of the allies was doubled.³ With these sums may be compared the larger ones contributed by various other cities; 30 talents by Aegina and Thasos, the largest amount recorded; 15-18 by Byzantium, 7½ by Ephesus, 6½ by Naxos, 7-8 by Erythrae. On the other hand, many cities paid still less than did Miletus; Priene, for example, contributed only one talent, and the quota lists furnish instances of even smaller sums.

Further, Miletus is an exception to the almost universal rule that the Ionian cities ceased to issue coins during the fifth century B.C.,⁴ a circumstance which betokens a certain amount of prosperity. But her coins are of small denominations, and therefore suggest that they were not used in extensive transactions.

Lastly, the building operations of the fifth century were conducted on a moderate scale. The area of the restored city was smaller, the Kalabaktepe not being again included,⁵ and the lack of inscriptions belonging to this period⁶ supports the idea that few great public buildings existed. The great temple of Apollo at Didyma was not rebuilt, although Miletus had recovered the whole of the peninsula, so that

¹ For possible reason for reduction *vide infra*, p. 137.

² For all the amounts mentioned *vide* quota-lists, Hill, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.

³ *Vide* Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, No. 64.

⁴ P. Gardner, *Coinage of the Athenian Empire* (J.H.S., 1913, p. 165).

⁵ *Vide* Map III. and Wiegand, *Siebenter Bericht*, 1911, p. 6.

⁶ Wiegand, *Erster Bericht*, 1900, pp. 111 *sqq.*

Panormus,¹ the port for Didyma, as well as Teichiussa,² on the coast beyond, could be spoken of as being in her territory. The rebuilding of this temple was one of the first works undertaken by Miletus after Alexander had restored her to liberty;³ undoubtedly she would have accomplished it before had she been sufficiently prosperous; but the moderate wealth brought in by her manufactures was not sufficient for the task.

It may be added that the blow inflicted upon the material prosperity of Miletus was also a check upon her intellectual development. During this period she produced no distinguished philosophers or geographers, and only one historian, Dionysius:⁴ with her pre-eminence in commerce had vanished her pre-eminence in mental pursuits.

¹ Thuc., VIII. 24. 1.

² Thuc., VIII. 28.

³ Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, pp. 3 *sq.*

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 79.

CHAPTER X

MILETUS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

DURING the earlier part of the Peloponnesian War the Milesians, like several of the other allies, aided the Athenians on more than one occasion. In 425 B.C. they took part in the attack upon Corinthian territory;¹ in 424 B.C. they assisted at a descent upon Cythera,² and in 413 B.C. they furnished a contingent to the Sicilian expedition.³ The language used by Thucydides in speaking of the last occasion implies that such service was not voluntary, but was exacted by Athens as an imperial power. It is therefore likely that the Milesians considered it a burden.

Other causes for dissatisfaction arose out of the war. By 425 B.C. Athens had doubled the tribute required from her subject cities;⁴ and as her subsequent disasters rendered even this increase insufficient, in 413 B.C. she levied a tax of 5 per cent. on all imports and exports carried by sea to or from the harbours of the Confederacy.⁵

Whether this tax replaced the tribute or not, it was particularly burdensome to the manufacturers

¹ Thuc., IV. 42. 1.

² Thuc., IV. 53. 1 ; 54. 1.

³ Thuc., VII. 57. 3, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ξυνεστράτευον. Καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν . . . ἦσαν . . . Μιλήσιοι.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 108.

⁵ Thuc., VII. 28. 4.

of Miletus, whose profits from the export of their goods were diminished while the cost of imported raw materials was increased. Therefore it was likely to bring to a head the discontent which was already in existence, either among the whole population or among a certain party only.¹

When Alcibiades in the course of his intrigues arrived on the coast of Asia Minor in 412 B.C., he lost little time in addressing himself to the leading citizens of Miletus, with whom he was on friendly terms, and easily induced the city to revolt from Athens and enter into an alliance with the Peloponnesians.² This revolt, following close upon the defection of Chios,³ and followed by that of many other cities, was a serious blow to Athens, who had, moreover, another enemy with whom to contend: Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap at Sardis, now came forward as the ally of the Peloponnesians, his motive being to regain control of the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast.⁴

Owing to the central position and excellent harbourage of Miletus, it was of the utmost importance in a conflict for supremacy over the islands and mainland coast of the Eastern Aegean; consequently, during the remaining part of 412 B.C. and the first part of 411 B.C., the Athenians made several attempts to recapture the city, "thinking," as Thucydides remarks,⁵ "that if they could regain Miletus, the other cities would come over to them."

First, the Athenian fleet anchored off Lade, but

¹ *Vide infra*, pp. 138 *sq.*

³ Thuc., VIII. 14 *sqq.*

⁵ VIII. 25. 5.

² Thuc., VIII. 17.

⁴ Thuc., VIII. 5, 18.

was unable to force its way into the harbours of Miletus. The district about Panormus was raided; then, after receiving considerable reinforcements of men and ships, the Athenians landed near the city, gained a trifling advantage in a skirmish, and were about to lay siege to the place, when they heard of the approach of a large Peloponnesian fleet, which caused them to beat a hasty retreat to Samos. Evidently they feared that they would be cut off by sea, and dared not risk a battle.¹

During the winter 412-411 B.C. the Athenians, who had again secured control of the sea,² determined to make another attempt upon Miletus, should the opportunity arise. They therefore frequently sailed out from Samos, and tried to provoke the enemy's fleet to leave the harbours of Miletus; but this in its turn declined battle, and eventually the Peloponnesian headquarters were transferred for a time to Rhodes.³

However, Tissaphernes, whose policy was one of selfish inaction, was anxious to bring the Peloponnesian fleet back to Miletus, which was nearer his own headquarters at Sardis: and by a renewed offer of assistance he succeeded in effecting his purpose. The end of the winter therefore found the Peloponnesian fleet again concentrated at Miletus, while the Athenians still kept watch upon them from Samos.⁴

Within Miletus there was much discontent. Tissaphernes had erected a fort there, and the Milesians, who had at first prosecuted the war with enthusiasm,⁵

¹ Thuc., VIII. 24 *sq.*

³ Thuc., VIII. 38 *sq.*

⁵ Thuc., VIII. 36. 1.

² Thuc., VIII. 30. 1.

⁴ Thuc., VIII. 57 *sqq.*

must now have begun to suspect that they had procured for themselves a change of masters instead of the autonomy which they desired. They seized the fort, but probably did not succeed in inflicting any serious blow upon the Persian garrison.¹ However, the Peloponnesians themselves were weary of the failure of Tissaphernes to keep his promises; and not long afterwards they transferred their fleet to the Hellespont,² which was the chief seat of the war for the next few years.

In 407 B.C. Ionia again became the centre of operations, but Lysander, the Peloponnesian commander, chose as his headquarters Ephesus and not Miletus,³ the former port being nearer to Sardis, now the residence of Cyrus, the younger son of the Great King and the friend of Lysander.⁴

In 406 B.C. Lysander was replaced by Callicratidas; and as Cyrus, in his partiality for Lysander, refused to promise further aid, the fleet was once more transferred to Miletus, which offered better harbourage. Callicratidas made an earnest appeal for assistance, and some of the leading Milesians promised to contribute large sums from their own purses:⁵ the resources of the rich manufacturers were not yet exhausted. Some of Lysander's friends, with whom he had intrigued while at Ephesus, tried to extort in return a promise that their political enemies should be destroyed, but this was firmly refused by Callicratidas.⁶

¹ Thuc., VIII. 84.

² Thuc., VIII. 99.

³ Xen., *Hellen.*, I. v. 1.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, I. v. 3 sq.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, I. vi. 5 sq.; Plut., *Lys.*, 5 sq.

⁶ Plut., *Apophthegm. Laconic*, 222 C.

However, in 405 B.C. Lysander again became commander of the Peloponnesian force in Asia Minor; and his partisans in Miletus, with his connivance, put down the existing government and seized upon the control of affairs.¹

These Milesians evidently rendered assistance to Lysander in his subsequent prosecution of the war; for a certain "Aeantides the Milesian" had his statue set up at Delphi among the representations of the various divisional admirals—only seven in all—which were erected by Lysander to commemorate his final victory at Aegospotami; and the inscription shows that this Aeantides and an Ephesian were the only Asiatic commanders.² But Aeantides' ships were not necessarily Milesian.

With Aegospotami terminated the Athenian claim to empire over the Greeks of Asia Minor. The Spartans or the Persians were now to be the rulers of Miletus and her neighbours.

¹ Plut., *op. cit.*, 8; Diod., XIII. 104. 5.

² Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, No. 79.

CHAPTER XI

MILETUS FROM 401-334 B.C.

A. *Under Sparta and Persia.*

After the battle of Aegospotami, Lysander set up in every city that had belonged to the Athenian empire, with the exception of Samos, a decarchy of native citizens under a Spartan harmost.¹ But in most of the cities of Ionia, Aeolis and the Hellespont, this arrangement was not of long duration. Sparta had promised to surrender these cities to Persia, in return for aid given during the war, and this agreement was soon carried into effect.

Miletus was evidently among the cities thus surrendered, for it was under the government of Tissaphernes, the satrap, in 401 B.C. In this year, when Cyrus was preparing to rebel against the Great King, he won the support of all the Asiatic Greeks except the Milesians, who were only prevented from following the example of their fellows by the prompt measures of Tissaphernes, who, hearing of their intention, at once executed some of the ringleaders and banished others. The exiles fled to Cyrus, who promised to restore them, and welcoming the pretext for collecting a force, laid siege to Miletus by land and sea.² He did not succeed in taking the city, and

¹ Plut., *op. cit.*, 13.

² Xen., *Anab.*, I. i. 6 sq.

not being very much in earnest, he soon withdrew his troops to Sardis, whence he started on his march into the interior.¹

Most of the Greek cities continued to resist the Persians, and were aided by Sparta;² but Miletus apparently remained under the control of Tissaphernes, for at the time of his death, in 395 B.C., a body of Milesian troops was in attendance on him.³ The Spartans, who carried on these campaigns chiefly by means of a land army, found Ephesus a more convenient base for inland communication, and therefore made no special effort to secure Miletus.

But the success of the Spartans in Asia Minor was shortlived. Though the war lingered on for some time, the death-blow to their cause had been dealt by the defeat at Cnidus in 494 B.C.⁴ In 387 B.C. Ephesus, Samos, and Rhodes formed a league in opposition to Persia, but Miletus did not join her neighbours; possibly she regarded them as commercial rivals, and looked for new hinterland trade under Persian rule.⁵ In 386 B.C. the Peace of Antalcidas formally recognised the supremacy of the Great King over the Asiatic Greeks;⁶ and until 334 B.C. Miletus did not come into close contact with any of the European states.

Some information as to the position of Miletus under Persian rule may be obtained from an inscription⁷ recording a dispute between Miletus and Myus about some land. Erythrae, Chios, Clazomenae,

¹ Xen., *Anab.*, I. ii. 2 *sqq.*

² Xen., *Hellen.*, III., IV.

³ Polyænus, VIII. 16.

⁴ Xen., *op. cit.*, IV. viii. 1 *sqq.*

⁵ *Vide infra*, p. 123.

⁶ Xen., *op. cit.*, V. i. 31.

⁷ Wiegand, *Erster Bericht*, 1900, pp. 111 *sqq.* Cp. Tod, *International Arbitration among the Greeks*, 47.

Lebedus, Ephesus and another city whose name is missing, were first called upon to arbitrate; but eventually an appeal was made to "Struses," the satrap of Ionia, who gave judgment in favour of Miletus. This "Struses" is almost certainly identical with the "Struthas" who was in command against the Spartans in 392 B.C.¹ The land in question must have been part of the Maeander valley, a district in which Miletus had at an earlier period been anxious to acquire or retain possessions.² It is noticeable that the Greek cities were allowed to arbitrate among themselves, and that the appeal to the satrap was voluntary: they therefore enjoyed more freedom of action than had been the case under the Athenian Empire.

Concerning the prosperity of Miletus during this period little can be asserted. Doubtless she had to pay tribute to Persia, but this burden may not have been a heavy one: the conduct of the city at the time of Alexander's attack does not indicate any great dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs.

Her woollen manufactures were apparently still carried on. Amphis, a writer of the fourth century B.C., mentions Milesian hangings,³ and the flourishing condition of the industry in later times⁴ supports the belief that it was never entirely extinguished. Under Persian rule she again had access to the Phrygian wool supply, if she so wished, and therefore can have had no lack of raw material.

¹ Xen., *op. cit.*, IV. viii. 16.

² *Vide supra*, p. 46.

³ *Ap. Athen.*, XV. 691a, ἐρίουσι τοὺς τοίχους κύκλω Μιλήσιους.

⁴ Hor., *Epist.*, I. xvii. 30. Miletī textam . . . chlamydem.

In her maritime trade there was no revival. The city of Rhodes, founded in 408 B.C., was growing in importance as a distributing centre, and Athens to a great extent recovered her commercial ascendancy in the Euxine region. Thus Miletus would have been debarred from regaining a footing there, even had she desired to do so.

B. Under the Carian Dynasts.

Though Miletus was nominally subject to Persia during the whole of the period 386–334 B.C., there is evidence that for a certain portion of the time she was really under the control of the dynasts of Caria.

The first of these rulers, Hecatomnus, established his power over Caria not long after 395 B.C.; and having been recognised as satrap by the Great King, he and his son and successor, Mausolus, pursued a policy of extension, which had for its aim the development of Caria as a maritime power.

In pursuance of this aim the Greek cities of Halicarnassus, Iasus, and Cnidus were annexed by Caria; and Mausolus fomented the discontent of Chios, Rhodes, and Cos as members of the Second Athenian Confederacy, and brought about their revolt.¹

With such an object in view these Carians naturally coveted Miletus, whose central position and excellent harbourage, combined with easy access by land from Carian headquarters,² made her a valuable possession. That they contrived to establish their power there is shown by coins of Miletus, bearing

¹ Dem., *De Rhod. Libertate*, c. 3.

² *Vide supra*, p. 1, and Map II.

the inscriptions E K A (Hecatomnus) and M A (Mausolus).¹ But Polyaeus relates² that an emissary of Mausolus, who had been charged to negotiate with some of the Milesians for the surrender of the city, was forced to flee by a plot against his life. Obviously the hold of Hecatomnus upon Miletus had not been permanent, and it was regained by Mausolus with difficulty, if at all.

After the death of the latter dynast in 353 B.C. there was still some intercourse between his successors and Miletus, for an inscription has been found at Delphi recording the dedication by the Milesians of two statues representing the Carian rulers, Idrieus and Ada.³ But this does not prove that Miletus was under Carian control at the time: the dedication may have been simply an acknowledgment of benefits received by the city.⁴

Whatever may be the exact details of the relations between Caria and Miletus, it is certain that it was in Persian hands in 334 B.C.; for it was occupied by a Persian garrison when Alexander attacked it, and it is not mentioned as forming part of the Carian possessions at the time.⁵

C. *Miletus and Alexander the Great.*

When during the summer of 334 B.C. Alexander of Macedon was making his victorious advance through the Persian Empire, Miletus was the first city to offer resistance.

¹ Head, *Hist. Num.*, 1st ed., p. 503.

² VI. 8.

³ *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1899, p. 384.

⁴ Cp. a decree of the Erythraeans in honour of Mausolus and Artemisia. Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, No. 134.

⁵ Arrian., *Anab.*, I. 18 sq.

The place was occupied by a garrison of Persian and Greek soldiers; but despite its importance as a naval base, the Macedonian fleet was able to anchor off Lade three days before the arrival of the Persian fleet, which was thus compelled to remain at a distance off Mycale. Alexander, finding the outer city evacuated, occupied it with his own troops and laid siege to the inner city.

The Milesians and the Greek mercenaries were enthusiastic for neither side and only anxious to save themselves. Therefore when they found that they were cut off from outside help, they offered to allow Alexander and the Persians to hold their walls and harbours in common, but Alexander rejected this proposal and took the city by a vigorous assault.

The treatment received by Miletus at the hands of Alexander was lenient; for she was granted autonomy under condition that a democracy should be established. With this event began a new era in Milesian history.

CHAPTER XII

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

A. *To the close of the Ionian Revolt.*

Though there is little direct information as to the earlier forms of government existing at Miletus after the Ionian immigration, certain definite conclusions can be arrived at by comparing this information with what is known of Miletus at other periods and also with what is known of other states.

The ancient literary authorities bearing upon the point are as follows:—

Herodotus¹ says that the Ionians of Asia Minor were ruled over by kings who were either Lycians or Pylian Caucons of the family of Codrus. In another passage² he alludes to Neileus, son of Codrus, as the founder of Miletus.

Aristotle³ mentions Phobius the Neleid as ruling⁴ at Miletus when one of the royal race of Halicarnassus was given up to him as a hostage. Afterwards he resigned his power to Phrygius,⁵ on account of a love affair of his wife.

Polybius⁶ says that the Neleids were the founders of the Milesian settlement at Iasus, whither they had

¹ I. 147.

² IX. 97.

³ Fr. 552.

⁴ κρατοῦντι (dative).

⁵ παρεχώρησε φρυγίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

⁶ XVI. 12. 1 sq.

been summoned by the inhabitants during a war with Caria.

Nicolas of Damascus¹ gives the following account of the fall of the Neleids. Leodamas, king of the Milesians, a good and respected ruler, was treacherously murdered by a certain Amplitres, who with his faction seized the city. His sons and friends fled to Assessus, where they were received by the governor, who had been appointed by him. Amplitres attacked them, but in obedience to an oracle the mysteries of the Cabiri were introduced from Phrygia, and with the aid of these deities the party of Leodamas defeated their opponents. The Milesians then elected Epimenes as aesymnetes, with power of life and death over all the citizens. The sons of Amplitres fled; their goods were confiscated and a price was set upon their heads. Thus the Neleids were overthrown.

Together with this literary evidence should be mentioned an inscription of Roman imperial times found at Didyma,² in which the title *βασιλεύς* occurs among an enumeration of the offices held by a certain Milesian.

Some of the details given in the above extracts are plainly fictitious. Such are the causes assigned for Phobius' resignation and the circumstances of the defeat inflicted upon the faction of Amplitres. Probably, too, the names of some of the personages concerned were invented to suit the story;³ for

¹ Fr. 54 (*F.H.G.*, III., p. 388).

² *C.I.G.*, No. 2881. For the *βασιλῆς* mentioned in another inscription of Roman times *vide infra*, p. 145.

³ A suggestion due to Glotz, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1906, p. 518.

Leodamas may well be an allegorical representation of the lawful ruler, "the chief of the people," while Amphitres, whose name recalls Amphitrite, wife of Poseidon,¹ may be typical of the Neleid aristocracy, who claimed descent from Poseidon through their connection with the Pylians.²

One conclusion, however, stands out clearly: the earliest government at Miletus was in the hands of the Neleids. These may be assumed to have reigned first as hereditary monarchs, holding their office for life; and it is possible that this same form of government lasted until the final overthrow of this family.

On the other hand, such monarchies are known to have been replaced in most Greek cities at an early period by an aristocracy of birth.³ At Athens,⁴ Mytilene,⁵ Ephesus,⁶ and Erythrae⁷ the ruling aristocracies were said to be composed of the families to which the kings had belonged; therefore it is very probable that the Neleids, who were finally driven from Miletus, were an aristocracy who had replaced the original hereditary monarchy. Polybius' allusion to "the Neleids" as allies of the men of Iasus and founders of a settlement there, is additional evidence that the whole family were at one time regarded as the ruling power in Miletus.

This supposition is not necessarily contradicted by the mention of a "king" in power at Miletus when

¹ Hesiod., *Theog.*, l. 930.

² The Pylian Neleus was a son of Poseidon (*Od.*, XI. l. 254).

³ *Vide* Busolt, *op. cit.*, I.², pp. 507 *sq.* ⁴ *Vide infra*, p. 124.

⁵ Paus., III. ii. 1; Arist., *Pol.*, V. viii. 13.

⁶ Baton of Sinope, Fr. 2 (*F.H.G.*, IV., p. 348).

⁷ Arist., *Pol.*, V. v. 4.

the Neleids were finally overthrown. An official bearing this title long continued to be appointed at Miletus, as proved by the above-mentioned inscription of Roman times. The same office is found at Olbia¹ and Cyzicus,² both Milesian colonies, and was probably copied from that existing in the mother-city at the time of their foundation.

The course of events was possibly, therefore, similar to that at Athens, where the original hereditary monarch was replaced by an elective ruler with colleagues, still entitled *ὁ βασιλεύς*, chosen from the royal race of the Medontidae, and holding office at first for life, then for ten years; finally the office became an annual one and lost all political importance, being concerned only with the religious functions of the early kings.³ In the same way the last Neleid at Miletus to bear the title of *βασιλεύς* was probably not a hereditary monarch, but one elected to the chief office in the state by the Neleid aristocracy, either for life or for a certain term of years. Aristotle's story of the resignation of Phobius in favour of Phrygius may be a reminiscence of the retirement of the elective "king" from his office at the end of a definite period.

If the above view of the transformation of monarchy into aristocracy is correct, the details given by Nicolas of Damascus led to the conclusion that some of the Milesians, dissatisfied with the aristocracy of birth, as such, took advantage of dissensions within that body to secure a less narrow form of government.

¹ *C.I.G.*, No. 2069.

² *C.I.G.*, No. 3663.

³ Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, pp. 110 sq., 253.

It is not difficult to guess who composed this dissatisfied party. The fall of the Neleids probably occurred during the second half of the seventh century B.C., the period when many aristocracies fell.¹ This assumption is supported by the dates of foundation assigned to some of the Milesian colonies,² which would naturally form a refuge for those exiled in civil strife, as the partisans of Amphitres are said to have been. The second Milesian settlement at Sinope, which took place about 630 B.C., is expressly said to have been planted by two exiles, Coos and Cretines,³ who may have been Neleids. But the commercial activity of Miletus had begun before the middle of the seventh century B.C.;⁴ by that time there must have been many rich merchants in the city, who, gaining a wider outlook and greater independence of thought from their intercourse with other lands, would before long begin to believe that their wealth was as good a reason for claiming a share in the government as was the birth of the Neleids; just as did the moneyed man at Megara, whose intrusion into the ranks of the nobility was so bitterly resented by Theognis.⁵ Moreover the aristocracy of birth was likely to become disintegrated, as some of the nobles went into trade and thus severed their interests from those of their equals by birth. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that in Miletus, as in Megara, the aristocracy of birth was succeeded by one of wealth, composed of men engaged in commerce, rather

¹ *Vide* Busolt, *op. cit.*, I.², p. 628. ² *Vide supra*, pp. 58 *sqq.*

³ Ps.-Scymn., ll. 947 *sqq.*

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 49.

⁵ ll. 55 *sqq.*, 189 *sqq.* (*P.L.G.*, II.⁴, pp. 124, 127).

than of rich landowners, as was the case in many other Greek cities.

There is no necessity to dispute the statement of Nicolas of Damascus that an aesyminetes was elected to settle the dispute.¹ Several well-authenticated instances occur in Greek history where during times of civil strife one man was entrusted with supreme power by his fellow-citizens, either for life or for a limited period: Pittacus at Mytilene and Solon at Athens are noted examples.

The nature of the chief magistracy under the newly established aristocracy of wealth cannot be definitely determined. Aristotle² says that the rise of tyranny at Miletus was due to the extensive powers held by the *πρότασις*, which must mean that the chief magistrate bore the title of *πρότασις*, or "president"; but whether he had colleagues there is no means of determining; if he had, their power must have been much inferior to his own. Possibly he combined the offices of the Athenian archon and polemarch as they were before the reforms of Solon,³ and presided in a council of wealthy men.

This form of government cannot have lasted longer than the end of the seventh century B.C., for about 604 B.C. a tyrant, Thrasybulus, was ruling at Miletus.⁴

Aristotle⁵ states that most tyrants gained their position by taking the side of the people against the

¹ Glotz (*loc. cit.*) argues that the name *Ἐπιμένης* was invented at a later period to account for the title *ἐπιμήνιος* borne by certain magistrates; but a Greek would not confuse *ε* and *η*.

² *Pol.*, V. iv. 5.

³ *Vide* Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁴ *Hdt.*, I. 20.

⁵ *Pol.*, V. v. 4.

rich nobles, a course for which opportunities were likely to arise in such a city as Miletus, where manufactures played an important, howbeit not the most important, part, and the people were consequently more likely to realise their own importance than was the case in purely agricultural communities. Moreover, there must have been constant fluctuations in wealth among the merchant nobles, and therefore the power of that body would be less firmly established than it would have been had it depended upon the possession of land in a state where there was no other source of wealth, either industrial or commercial. Consequently, though the commons did not necessarily become supreme,¹ they were a force in the state, and were able to secure the elevation of their own champion to a position of power, first as *πρότασις* and then as tyrant.

But tyranny was a short-lived institution at Miletus: about 580 B.C.² the last two tyrants, Thoas and Damasenor, were driven out,³ and the city, like Athens and Megara after the expulsion of their tyrants, was involved in civil strife. Plutarch⁴ says that the power lay in the hands of two *ἐταίρειαι*, one of the *πλουτίς* ("the rich"), and the other of the *χειρομάχα* ("the hand-fighters"). When these wished to consult upon any important matter, they used to

¹ Cp. *infra*, pp. 140 *sq.*

² *Vide* Busolt, *op. cit.*, II.², p. 472.

³ Plut., *Quaest. Graec.*, 32.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, Heracleides Ponticus *ap.* Athen., XII. 523*f.*, says that the rich derisively called their opponents "Gergithae." The name seems to have been that of a conquered people, *vide* Hdt., V. 122; VII. 43.

go on board ship, where they passed their decrees : hence they were called *ἀειναῦται*.

The first part of this statement can be accepted. Apparently the rich merchants endeavoured to make themselves supreme once more, while the people, though ill-furnished in the matter of weapons, had gained more confidence in themselves under the levelling rule of the tyrants, and made a determined resistance.

The meaning of the word *ἀειναῦται* is harder to decide. Though there was probably some connection with ships, Plutarch's explanation is unconvincing. It is true that a somewhat similar case may be cited in the conference of Octavian and Antony and Sextus Pompeius on a raft off Misenum in 39 B.C. ; but that occasion was a special one, whereas Plutarch speaks as if the meetings of the *ἀειναῦται* were frequent and always held on board ship. Fragments of an inscription prove the existence of persons known by the same name at Chalcis,¹ but there is no further information upon the subject. Various attempts at explanation have been made. Mr. Zimmern² suggests that the *ἀειναῦται* were similar to the Athenian *ναύκαραι*, the officials who before the reforms of Cleisthenes used to superintend the receipts and expenditure of the local divisions of Attica, and who seem to have derived their title from their duty of equipping a ship-of-war. These *ναύκαραι* were certainly of considerable local importance ; and if the position of the *ἀειναῦται* was a similar one, it can well

¹ *I.G.A.*, No. 375.

² *The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 142, note.

be understood that the rich headmen of the various districts sometimes controlled the affairs of the state as a whole. Wilamowitz¹ equates the *ἀειναῦται* with the officers and crews of the war-fleet, but it is unlikely that the fleet was constantly in commission, as it was at Periclean Athens: therefore this suggestion is less plausible than the preceding one.

On the other hand, it is by no means certain that the *ἀειναῦται* were officials at all, either at Chalcis or at Miletus. As both the cities were engaged in commerce, the name may have been that of a guild, similar to those found in so many towns of mediæval Europe: in that case parallels to the part they played in the civil strife may be found in the conflicts between the merchants and artisans of Florence in 1378, and between the same classes in England during the reign of Edward III.

Whatever may have been the exact details, the strife was certainly violent and prolonged. At first the poor gained the upper hand and treated the rich with great cruelty; then they in their turn were worsted and suffered similar treatment at the hands of their enemies.² At last, according to Herodotus,³ after two generations of civil discord, the Parians were called in as arbitrators, and gave the government into the hands of those Milesians whose land they found to be most carefully cultivated.

As these landowners were not likely to be so rich as the merchants, such an arrangement would give the chief power to men of moderate means; and the

¹ *Sitzungsber. Berl. Ak.*, 1906, p. 78.

² Herac. Pont., *loc. cit.* ³ V. 28 sq.

poet Phocylides, who flourished about 540 B.C., was possibly alluding to this settlement when he praised the lot of the middle classes,¹ advised those who wished for prosperity to pay attention to their land,² and declared that a small city set upon a rock and well governed was better than foolish Nineveh.³

But if the award of the Parians gave the sole power into the hands of the middle class, the rich merchants were not likely to acquiesce in it. Therefore it is possible that the constitution set up was in reality a moderate oligarchy, where the highest offices were still open to those only who possessed a certain amount of property, but this amount was reduced, so that rich merchants and prosperous farmers alike were eligible. Such an arrangement would be similar to that established at Athens by Solon, under which the highest offices were open to the two richest classes only.⁴

It may be to this period that we should ascribe the establishment of a college of magistrates known as *οἱ ἐπιμήνιοι*, who are mentioned in an inscription of the fifth century B.C. discovered at Miletus by Prof. Wiegand,⁵ for the name of these officials indicates that they held office for one month only, and the short tenure allowed may have been due to fear of tyranny. A parallel may be found in plutocratic

¹ Fr. 12, πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα · μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι.

² Fr. 7, χρηζῶν πλούτου μελέτην ἔχε πίονος ἀγροῦ / ἀγρὸν γὰρ τε λέγουσιν Ἀμαλθείης κέρας εἶναι.

³ Fr. 5, πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ κόσμον / οἰκεῦσα σμικρῇ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης.

⁴ Arist., *Resp. Ath.*, 7. 3 ; 26. 2.

⁵ *Vide infra*, pp. 132 sq.

Florence, where the "priori" served for two months only.¹ However, as the *ἐπιμήνιοι* may belong to the fifth century only and are to be further considered in connection with that period, it is unnecessary at this point to discuss them at greater length.

The constitution set up by the Parians cannot have lasted long; for a tyranny was established not long after the Persian conquest, which is to be dated 540 B.C. at the latest. This tyranny, which ruled in the interests of Persia, was overthrown at the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt in 499 B.C. Some kind of democracy, with a strategos as chief magistrate, superseded it² and ruled until the city fell into the hands of the Persians.

B. From the close of the Ionian Revolt to the Anabasis of Alexander.

It is not known what form of government came into force when Miletus was re-established after the Ionian Revolt. It may have been a democracy, such as the Persians permitted in other Ionian cities after 492 B.C.,³ or it may have been an oligarchy, the power being in the hands of those men who had been chiefly instrumental in restoring their city.⁴ All that can be stated with certainty is that the government was oligarchic for some part at least of the first period of Athenian supremacy.⁵

The steps which led to the substitution of a

¹ Villari, *Hist. of Florence*, p. 123.

² Hdt., V. 38.

³ Hdt., VI. 43.

⁴ Cp. Aristotle, *Resp. Ath.*, 231, for the supremacy of the Areopagus after Salamis.

⁵ *Vide infra*, p. 133.

democracy for this oligarchy may be conjectured from various items of evidence, chiefly epigraphic, which are as follows.

The quota-list¹ for 454 B.C. mentions the "Milesians from Leros" and the "Milesians from Teichiussa" as separate communities. No mention is made of "Milesians" simply, but the list is incomplete. "The Milesians" appear on the list for 452 B.C., but the amount at which they are assessed is missing. In 450 B.C. they are assessed at 10 talents, and in 447 B.C., the next list on which the amount is found, at 5 talents. In a list belonging to 437 B.C., or some subsequent year,² "the Milesians, Leros and Teichiussa" are apparently assessed together as one community.

A much-mutilated inscription³ belonging to 450-49 B.C. shows that the Athenians appointed a commission of five to organise certain details in the constitution of Miletus, especially in the judicature,⁴ and established a garrison in the city.⁵

An important new source of information is provided by a fifth-century inscription found at Miletus by Prof. Wiegand and discussed by M. Glotz before the Académie des Inscriptions at Paris.⁶ It records a decree of banishment, as the penalty for homicide, against certain men, apparently the son (or sons) of

¹ Hill, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.

² *Op. cit.*, Chap. II., No. 25.

³ *Op. cit.*, Chap. I., No. 129.

⁴ *Vide infra*, p. 138.

⁵ In the inscription occur the words: ὅπως ἀν' ἀριστ[α Μ]ιλεσίων ἔ[τρ]ον φρουρῶν κύριοί . . . and [ἀποσ]τελάντο[ν δύο] φρορίδε (guardships).

⁶ *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1906, pp. 511 sqq.

Nympharetus, and against Alcimus and Cresphontes, the sons of Stratonax. The descendants of the guilty men were included in the proscription. Whoever killed any one of them was to receive 100 staters from the possessions of Nympharetus. This was to be paid by the ἐπιμήνιοι, to whom the slayers were to present themselves. Failure to pay made the magistrate liable for the amount. If the city captured the proscribed, the ἐπιμήνιοι in charge at the time were to have them executed; otherwise they were liable to a penalty of fifty staters each. If the presiding ἐπιμήνιος did not bring forward the matter, he was liable to a penalty of 100 staters. All succeeding colleges of ἐπιμήνιοι were to act in accordance with this decree.

The only piece of literary evidence referring directly to this period occurs in the "Old Oligarch,"¹ who, writing about 424 B.C.,² remarks that when the Athenians took the side of the nobles at Miletus, these soon revolted and destroyed the people.

These sources should now be considered in detail.

The wording of the quota-lists for 454 and 437 B.C. or later leads to the conjecture that there had at the earlier date been some division among the Milesians, which had resulted in the assessment of those settled at Leros and Teichiussa as separate communities; but these divisions were afterwards abolished, so that all the Milesians, wherever domiciled, were classed together as a single community.

¹ [Xen.] *Resp. Ath.*, iii. ii., τοῦτο δὲ ὅτε Μιλησίων ἔλιοντο τοὺς βελτίστους, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἀποστάντες τὸν δῆμον κατέκοψαν.

² Kirchhoff, *Abhand. der Akad. Berl.*, 1878, pp. 1 sqq.

The next-mentioned inscription proves that in 450–49 B.C. Athens was re-organising the constitution of Miletus; and it is unlikely that she would have done so, unless there had been either some kind of revolt against her supremacy or dissensions among the Milesians themselves, which led them to appeal to Athens as arbitrator.¹

The last inscription throws still more light upon the subject. As M. Glotz has pointed out,² it is almost certain that the crime of the sons of Nympharetus and Stratonax was not homicide; had it been so, only the murderers themselves would have been punished, whereas here the penalty is to be inflicted upon their descendants also, and apparently the goods of Nympharetus are to be confiscated. But political and religious crimes were regarded as offences against the whole state, and were often visited by the Greeks with these collective punishments; well-known instances being the cases of the Alcmaeonids, banished for sacrilege at the time of Cylon's conspiracy,³ and of Arthmius of Zeleia, who with his descendants was outlawed by the Athenians for bringing Persian gold to Peloponnese.⁴ Moreover, murder alone would give rise simply to a private action: the authorities would not have published such a decree in an ordinary case of homicide; whereas the device of setting a price upon the head of the guilty man was common in cases of treason and sacrilege, witness the penalties

¹ Cp. the case of Erythrae, where Athens apparently interfered to protect the democracy against a party favourable to Persia, and gave the city a new constitution: *vide* Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, No. 32.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 522 *sqq.*

³ Thuc., I. 126.

⁴ Dem., *Phil.*, III., c. 42.

decreed against Ephialtes the Malian,¹ the Hermocopids,² and a ringleader of revolted slaves in Chios.³ M. Glotz further shows that under the Greek system of law the crime of treason was frequently assimilated to that of homicide; and thus he supports his conclusion that the crime in question was one of treason.

It is more difficult to determine the nature of this treason, but a very probable theory can be constructed. In the fifth-century inscription last mentioned the *ἐπιμήνιοι* appear as financial officials, and the chief *ἐπιμήνιος* obviously presided in some assembly where it was his duty to bring forward motions. But in an inscription belonging to the fourth century B.C.⁴ there is found at Miletus an organisation exactly similar to that at Athens; the Boule and the Ecclesia are presided over by *πρυτάνεις*, while their president is called the *ἐπιστάτης*. Officials called *πράκτορες* are concerned with the collection of fines, and the *ταμίς*, or treasurer, appears to have charge of the public funds. These arrangements must have been copied from Athens, and probably the imitation dated from the period of her supremacy in Miletus, which ended in 412 B.C. The Milesians must have become thoroughly accustomed to the details of the constitution borrowed from their former mistress, if these were retained even when that supremacy was overthrown. Therefore in 412 B.C. it cannot have been a recent institution, and it may thus be connected with

¹ Hdt., VII. 213.

² Thuc., VI. 60. 4.

³ Nymphodorus, Fr. 12 (*F.H.G.*, II., p. 378).

⁴ Wiegand, *Zweiter Bericht*, 1901, p. 911.

the re-organisation dealt with by the decree of 450-49 B.C.

Further, the "Old Oligarch" proves that at some period while Miletus was a member of the Delian Confederation, an oligarchic constitution was allowed there under Athenian favour; but the nobles proved disloyal to Athens, and civil strife resulted.

Lastly, two additional items of evidence may be mentioned, which, though not conclusive in themselves, support the inferences drawn from elsewhere. The powers ascribed to the *ἐπιμήνιοι* suggest a rather extensive and ill-defined executive, such as would naturally accrue to the chief magistrate in an unsettled state, and, as M. Glotz points out, Cresphontes, Alcimus, and possibly Nympharetus, are names connected with the Neleids of Pylus and not with Athens: therefore they may have been borne by the members of a party antagonistic to Athens. In support of this suggestion it may be remarked that though these names may have been in the families for centuries, such instances of political naming occur elsewhere in Greek history, well-known cases being those of Themistocles' daughters, Italia and Sybaris,¹ and Cimon's sons, Lacedaemonius, Eleius, and Thesalus.²

The following theory as to the course of events may therefore be constructed.

When Miletus first became part of the Athenian empire, her constitution was oligarchic, and this Athens allowed to continue for some time. But the leading Milesians were impatient of control, and at

¹ Plut., *Them.*, 32.

² Plut., *Cim.*, 16.

length showed that they intended to revolt from Athens. The poorer people, however, were favourable to Athens, and opposed the would-be rebels. Thus before 454 B.C. civil strife broke out. The oligarchs at first gained the upper hand, and some of their opponents betook themselves to Leros and Teichiussa, where they formed themselves into communities separate from Miletus. It is possible that in 454 B.C. Miletus itself was in a state of open revolt against Athens, so that no mention of the city would be found even if the quota-list were intact.¹ But this state of things did not long continue, for the oligarchs were overthrown by Athens. In 452 B.C. the Milesians were assessed as liable to tribute; and the list of 437 B.C., or some subsequent year, shows that by that time at least the inhabitants of Leros and Teichiussa were once more considered as parts of the Milesian community. The reduction of the tribute from 10 talents to 5, which took place some time between 450 and 443 B.C., can be explained by the impoverishment of the city in this civil strife.

The first step necessary after the overthrow of the oligarchs was to prevent them from acting in the same way again. Consequently, the officials were bidden to secure the death or perpetual banishment of the ringleaders, the sons of Nympharetus and Stratonax.

As Athens was determined to secure a firm hold upon Miletus for the future, she planted a garrison in the city, and established a democracy which

¹ For other revolts unrecorded in literature compare the defections in Caria and Thrace 440 B.C. *sqq.*, as attested by the tribute lists.

resembled her own in many details—in the divisions of the people,¹ the names and functions of the various assemblies and magistrates,² and even in the device of ostracism³ as a safeguard against further internal strife. Certain restrictions were placed upon the Milesians' freedom of judicature, their competency to decide suits being apparently limited to cases where the penalty did not exceed a certain limit, or where the claim was not for more than 100 drachmas.⁴ Whether this limitation applied to public or to private suits, or to both, it is impossible to determine, though 100 drachmas was a low maximum stake for the judicial competence of the Milesians.

The next event concerning which we have any information is the revolt from Athens in 412 B.C., brought about by the intrigues of Alcibiades and supported by a party of would-be oligarchs, who may be identified with the friends of Alcibiades whom Thucydides mentions.⁵ But there is no evidence that the democracy was overthrown at this time; rich and poor alike seem to have been dissatisfied with Athenian rule, and consequently there was no plausible pretext for inducing the Spartans to establish an oligarchy.

This being the case, the malcontents were still ready to intrigue, and an opportunity was not long

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 144.

² *Vide infra*, pp. 146, 149.

³ Schol., *Aristoph. Knights*, l. 855, οὐ μόνον δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡστρακοφοροῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Μεγαρεῖς.

⁴ As the inscription is much mutilated, it is impossible to determine the exact details.

⁵ VIII. 17. 2.

in appearing, being furnished partly by the personal ambition of Lysander and partly by a growing suspicion in the minds of the Peloponnesians that the people of Miletus were weary of the war, and could no longer be trusted. It was the oligarchic party who in 407 B.C. entered into secret correspondence with Lysander,¹ who in 406 B.C. endeavoured to secure from Callicratidas the overthrow of their political opponents, and who finally seized the control of affairs in 405 B.C.

Plutarch² and Diodorus³ give accounts of the last event. Apparently the oligarchs had at one time been ready to compromise with the democracy, possibly because they did not believe that Lysander would give them active support. But although he pretended to be friendly to the existing government, and to rejoice at the prospect of a reconciliation, he was secretly fanning the flame of discord. At the feast of the Dionysia the conspirators seized their chief opponents, while the government, trusting to Lysander, made but a feeble resistance. Their trust was ill-placed, for many were put to death, many more were forced to flee, and an oligarchy of Lysander's friends was established, being either identical in form with the decarchies set up after Aegospotami, or soon replaced by that type of government.

This constitution did not endure long, for Miletus soon passed back into the power of Persia, under whom more freedom was allowed, as is shown by

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 113.

² *Lys.*, 5.

³ XII. 70.

the above-mentioned fourth-century inscription. But Persian rule was not likely to be popular, and could best be maintained where the chief power was in the hands of a few men who were made to realise that their interests lay in supporting Persia. Therefore the mention of Boule and Ecclesia does not prove that the government was fully democratic; the part of the people may have been merely formal, while the members of the Boule may have been taken only from the richer members of the various tribes.

Under Carian rule also the constitution for similar reasons was probably oligarchic, as it is known to have been at the time when Alexander the Great captured the city and established a democracy.¹

This sketch of the constitutional history of Miletus shows that the government was in the hands of the wealthier classes during the greater part of her existence previous to 334 B.C., including the whole of the period of her greatest prosperity, for it may be assumed that the tyrants were members of the rich merchant class. It is impossible to tell what course events would have taken had not the maritime supremacy of Miletus suffered such an overwhelming blow in 494 B.C.; the people had certainly been making their presence more felt as time went on, but a complete democracy would not necessarily have resulted. In mercantile, as opposed to exclusively manufacturing communities, an oligarchy is more likely to be established, as

¹ Arrian., *Anab.*, I. 19. 6.

so much depends on capital and organising power, while the proletariat are diffused by constant voyages. Aegina at the same period, Rhodes and Carthage during later periods of ancient history, and Venice and the Hansa towns during the Middle Ages,¹ are notable instances of great mercantile powers where the people, despite the fact that they were indispensable in trade, never wrested the government from the hands of the merchant nobles.

Although the democracy of the fifth century may have been introduced by Athens for her own ends, it was not entirely unnatural. With the loss of her maritime trade, Miletus had come to attach more importance to her manufactures, and thus the artisan class became a greater power in the state.

When this democratic institution had been overthrown, there was apparently no determined effort to restore it in its entirety before Alexander found it to his interest to do so. However, this is not remarkable, as the wishes of Persia and Caria must have had more influence in the matter than had those of the Milesians themselves.

¹ Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 136.

CHAPTER XIII

ANTIQUITIES

A. *The Population.*

(i) *Numbers.*—The population of Miletus has been estimated by Beloch¹ at between 20,000 and 30,000, but during the sixth century B.C. it must have been much larger.

At Lade in 494 B.C., when their numbers had already been thinned by war, the Milesians contrived to man 80 triremes,² for which about 16,000 men would be required. Even if some of the rowers were slaves and only about 12,000 were freemen, a population of about 100,000 must be assumed.

This estimate may be supported by comparing the area of Miletus, which measured about 225 hektars, with the 150 hektars of Carthage, of which 114 were built on,³ and the 64·7 hektars of Pompeii.⁴ Kahrstedt⁵ arrives at a population of about 120,000 for Carthage, which, however, was notoriously crowded. Pompeii had 20,000 inhabitants at most.⁶

¹ *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1913, p. 334. In his *Bevölkerungslehre*, pp. 228 *sq.*, he postulates 4000 citizens in the fifth century, *i.e.* much more in the sixth.

² Hdt., VI. 8.

³ Kahrstedt, *Geschichte der Karthager*, Vol. III., p. 24.

⁴ Beloch, *Bevölkerungslehre*, p. 487.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ Mau., *Pompeii*, 2nd ed., p. 15.

If we take a mean between the density of Carthage and that of Pompeii, we arrive at about 120,000 for Miletus before her losses in the Ionian Revolt, an estimate which agrees with that of 100,000 at the time of Lade.

(ii) *Citizens*.—The epigraphic evidence collected by M. Haussoullier¹ shows that the following divisions of the citizen body existed at Miletus: the families or clans Neleidae and Hecaetadae, the phratries Pelagonidae and Tapasadae, the demes Argaseis, Catapolitioi, Lerioi, Plataieis and Tichiesseis, and the tribes Oeneis, Pandionis, Acamantis and Asopis: to these last are to be added the tribes Cecropis, Argadeis and Theseis, mentioned in inscriptions discovered by Prof. Wiegand.²

Of these divisions that into clans probably dated from very early times, while the phratries were at least as old as the Ionian nation, for Herodotus³ says that the celebration of the Apaturia, the feast of the phratries, was one of the tests upon which depended the claim to the name Ionian.

The tribes may originally have numbered five, for, as has been mentioned in Chapter III., the presence of the Argadeis, one of the original Ionian divisions at Miletus and of all four at Cyzicus, authorises the conjecture that all four existed at Miletus as well. Therefore it is possible that until 494 B.C. the tribes were five in number, the Argadeis, Aegicoreis, Hopletes and Geleontes, together with

¹ *Dèmes et tribus de Milet* (*Revue de Philologie*, 1897, pp. 38, sqq.).

² *Zweiter Bericht*, 1901, p. 911; *Dritter Bericht*, 1904, p. 85; *Siebenter Bericht*, 1911, pp. 66 sq.

³ I. 147.

the tribe Asopis, which commemorated a Boeotian element among the settlers.¹

As the names Oeneïs, Pandionis, Acamantis and Cecropis are identical with four of the Cleisthenic tribes, and Theseïs is reminiscent of Athens, it is highly probable that when that city re-organised the government of Miletus, about 450 B.C., the number of tribes was raised to ten in imitation of the Athenian system, the names of the new tribes being borrowed from Athens, though the five original names were retained. But whatever is the exact date of their introduction, the names of the five new tribes being derived from Attic heroes, prove that they were imported from Athens and not exported thither.

The adoption of the deme as a political unit was possibly effected at the same time and copied from the same model, though such a division may have been known at the time of the Persian conquest under Cyrus.² These demes appear from their names to have been local divisions like those in Attica: Teichiussa and Leros were well-known places in Milesian territory; the Catapolitioi may have been the inhabitants of the city itself, and as M. Haussoullier notes,³ the name Argaseis recalls the termination -asa found in Mylasa, Pedasa and other Carian place-names, and therefore probably represented a place, Argasa.

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 40.

² Hdt., I., 170. Thales proposes that there should be a federal council at Teos—τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκομένους μηδὲν ἔσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ εἰ δῆμοι εἴν. Herodotus may have been using "δῆμοι" in the Athenian sense because his hearers were largely Athenian.

³ *Loc. cit.*

(iii) *Non-citizens.* (a) *Metics.*—The commerce of Miletus must have led many foreigners to visit the city; but it is doubtful whether any of them were permanently domiciled there with definite privileges during periods under consideration, for the first mention of metics occurs in an inscription of Hellenistic times.¹ The trade within the city was probably a monopoly of the Milesians, and therefore there were no inducements to foreigners to settle there. A different state of affairs prevailed at Athens, whose citizens were not so exclusively engaged in commerce, and consequently metics were welcomed.

(b) *Slaves.*—There were, of course, slaves in Miletus, as in every Greek town, and they may have been employed in various industries; but the Milesian manufactures were generally of a superior kind, such as were suitable for freemen. If Miletus needed slaves, she could easily import them from the markets of her ally Chios, a centre of the slave trade; but nothing is known as to the number of slaves in the city or as to the position of freedmen.

B. *Councils and Assemblies.*

During the regal period at Miletus, the king was probably assisted by a council of nobles. These, like the similar body at Athens, may have been known as the *φυλοβασιλεῖς*, or "tribe-kings,"² and have survived as religious functionaries. This supposition would explain the mention of *βασιλῆς* in an inscription of Roman times, dealing with the sale

¹ Vide *Revue de Philologie*, 1899, p. 81.

² Vide Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 383.

of a priesthood of Asclepius,¹ but there is no further evidence on the point.

No Milesian council is mentioned during the successive periods of oligarchy and tyranny up to 494 B.C., but there must have been some such body at least under the former. In 450 B.C. a council obviously existed, as the president of the *ἐπιμήνιοι* is found bringing business before it.² The name *ἐπιμήνιοι* indicates that they were a standing committee of the council, holding office for a month only, in which case the introduction of the Athenian system of *πρυτάνεις* was not altogether an innovation.

Whether there was any kind of popular assembly at Miletus previous to 450 B.C. cannot be determined: if there was one, however, it can have had but little importance. Neither can anything be stated as to the nature of the judicature up to this period.

When the constitution was reorganised by Athens, she modelled the Boule and Ecclesia, together possibly with the law courts,³ closely upon her own institutions. *πρυτάνεις* selected from the ten tribes in turn⁴ acted as a standing committee of the Boule, which was the chief administrative and executive power, as well as being charged with the preparation of business for the Ecclesia, the assembly of the whole people and the sovereign power in the state.

¹ Wiegand, *Fünfter Bericht*, 1906, p. 259, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς πώλεως (*sic*) . . . πωλοῦντες ἱεροσύνην Ἀσκληπίου . . . νόμον τίθενται τῇ πρᾶσι τόνδε, ἕφ' ᾧ ὁ πρίαμενος . . . ἀπόγραψαι . . . πρὸς τοὺς ταμίαις καὶ βασιλῆς.

² *Vide supra*, p. 135.

³ *Vide* inscription mentioned *supra*, p. 132. τὸ δικαστ[έριον] is mentioned, but it is possible that this refers to the Athenian law courts.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνευσεν.

With the establishment of the oligarchy in 405 B.C. the Boule and Ecclesia may have disappeared altogether for a short time; but they were revived under Persian and Carian rule, as is proved by the mention of them in the early fourth-century inscription quoted above,¹ though their composition and powers may have undergone some alterations.

C. *Magistrates.*

The scarcity of Milesian inscriptions of dates previous to the Anabasis of Alexander renders it impossible to give a satisfactory account of the magistracies of the city, but the following details may be mentioned.

Of the titles of the early magistrates, βασιλεύς and πρυτάνις, the former only seems to have survived at Miletus, though the πρυτάνις is found as the eponymous official in the Lesbian cities at a later period,² and the chief Archon, with whom the Milesian πρυτάνις may be compared,³ was retained as the eponymous official at Athens after his duties had become unimportant.

The survival of the βασιλεύς was due to the belief that certain religious functions could only be performed by one who bore the royal title. The disappearance of the πρυτάνις is possibly to be explained by the use which Thrasybulus or another had made of the office in elevating himself to the tyranny: when the Milesians expelled their tyrants, they may have abolished the title of the office which

¹ p. 135.

² Collitz, *Sammlung der griech. Dialektinschriften*, Nos. 213, 276-7, 319.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 125.

had been a stepping-stone to tyranny, only reviving it with a different signification after the memories attached to it had become less vivid.

Further, there was apparently no need to retain the *πρωτάνης* as an eponymous official in the sixth century B.C. If the list of eponymoi discovered at Didyma are authentic, this position was filled by the *στεφανηφόρος* of Apollo as far back as 525 B.C.¹

The adoption of this functionary as eponymous official may be explained by the respect paid to him as the chief minister of Apollo. Moreover, his position in early times may have been of some political importance: if the temple was the first bank and the first mint of Miletus,² the *στεφανηφόρος* was possibly the chief treasurer of the city, though on the other hand the *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων* mentioned in the Hellenistic inscriptions³ may have existed even then.

During the years when the temple at Didyma lay in ruins, the position of eponymous official may have been held by some other religious functionary.⁴ With the restoration of the temple, the office of *στεφανηφόρος* was revived, but it seems to have been a purely honorary one, for among the lists appear such names as those of Alexander the Great and Mithradates.

The financial duties of the *στεφανηφόρος* were pos-

¹ *Vierter Bericht*, 1905, p. 543.

² *Vide supra*, p. 29.

³ Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, p. 39.

⁴ Possibly a priest of Apollo Delphinios within the city. The above lists are headed *οἶδε μολπῶν ἡσύμνησαν*, and another inscription, possibly a copy of a fifth-century one, speaks of a procession of *μολποῖ* to Didyma, who first sacrificed to Apollo Delphinios (*vide* Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1905, pp. 640 *sqq.*).

sibly taken over in the first part of the fifth century by the *ἐπιμήνιοι*, who in 450 B.C. had charge at least of the wealth confiscated by the state.¹

When the constitution was reorganised in 450 B.C., the financial arrangements were probably modelled on those of Athens, though, as Miletus was not at that time a wealthy state, there was no need for a large number of officials. The early fourth-century inscription, to which reference has been made,² mentions two varieties—*ὁ ταμίης*, who like *ὁ ταμίης τοῦ δήμου* at Athens, controlled the money out of which were paid the expenses of the erection and restoration of records of decrees, and *οἱ πράπτορες*, who were to be notified of the failure of anyone to pay the appointed dues to the priestess in whose honour the decree had been passed. The functions of the latter officials may therefore have been similar to those bearing the same title at Athens, who collected fines from persons sentenced in the law-courts.³

Of the military officials little can be said. A sixth-century inscription⁴ records the dedication to Apollo of various images by the sons of a certain Pytho, who is spoken of as *ὁ ἀρχηγός*. As the same title, in the sense of "commander-in-chief," was applied to Pausanias in the epigram of Simonides inscribed upon the tripod which was dedicated at Delphi,⁵ it is possible that the Milesian *ἀρχηγός* was a military official.

The office of *στρατηγός* was held by Aristagoras after the abolition of tyranny at the beginning of the

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 29.

² *Vide supra*, p. 135.

³ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁴ Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, No. 19.

⁵ Thuc., I. 132. 2. *sq.*

Ionian Revolt,¹ but the title does not occur again in Milesian history until the Hellenistic period.² There may have been *στρατηγοί* under the supremacy of Athens, but if so, their functions were less extensive than those of the Athenian *στρατηγοί*, being necessarily limited by the permanent presence of Athenian officials at Miletus.³

Despite the great maritime power which Miletus once enjoyed, there is no express mention of any naval commanders until the time of Aegospotami, when a Milesian *ναύαρχος*, or admiral, served under Lysander.⁴ But at this period Miletus probably had no fleet of her own, though she may have supplied the crews.⁵

One more office, that of *ἀγορανόμος*, or clerk of the market, may be assumed to have existed in Miletus in early times, though there is no record of it until the Roman period.⁶ In Athens during the fifth century B.C. *ἀγορανόμοι* were appointed to keep order in the market-place, inspect weights and measures, and check fraud,⁷ and in a city where the commercial spirit was so keen and trade so extensive as at Miletus they may have been introduced at a much earlier date.

¹ Hdt., V. 38.

² Le Bas-Waddington, *Inscr. d'Asie Mineure*, No. 228.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 132.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 114.

⁵ *Vide supra*, p. 107.

⁶ *C.I.G.*, Nos. 2881 sq.

⁷ Aristoph., *Acharn.*, l. 938 ; *Wasps*, ll. 1406 sqq. ; Arist., *Resp. Ath.*, 51. 1.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII

SOME OF THE INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN THE DELPHINIUM AT MILETUS

THE official publication of the excavations of the Delphinium at Miletus¹ appeared too late for me to make full use of it; but I find in it nothing which contradicts conclusions arrived at in this work. Some additional points of interest are here appended.

The most interesting inscriptions are the lists² giving the names of the eponymous magistrates of Miletus—*στεφανηφόροι οἱ καὶ αἰσυμνήται (μολπῶν)* for 435 years, of which the period 525–334 B.C. falls within the scope of the present work. The same person never occurs twice over. This may mean that, like other Greek priests, the *αἰσυμνήτης τῶν μολπῶν* was appointed by lot, or merely that iteration in office was prohibited. The list contains familiar names like Hecataeus and Histiaeus, but the names of their respective fathers, which are appended, show that these were not the historical personages. None of the *αἰσυμνήται* is otherwise known to history. An *αἰσυμνήτης* is recorded for all the years 494–479 B.C. This does not suffice to prove that Miletus was inhabited in these years: the fiction of a Milesian commonwealth may have been carried on by Milesian refugees elsewhere (*cp.* the Athenians at Samos in

¹ G. Kawerau and A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion*.

² Nos. 122–8.

411), and the list from 494 onwards have been inscribed subsequently.

Wilamowitz¹ suggests that the Epimenes of Nicolas of Damascus² was the first of a regular series of *αἰσυμνήται* and a predecessor of the eponymous *αἰσυμνήται τῶν μολπῶν*. But these were clearly no more than priests at first, and the cult-regulations which were inscribed in 450–49 B.C.³ represent them only in their hieratic capacity. There is no clear trace of their effecting any political business, and the fact of their being *ἐπώνυμοι* does not prove they were magistrates. At Argos the priestesses of Hera were eponymous. Epimenes was more probably an exceptional official of the Pittacus type.

In No. 120 Milesians appear as *προβουλοί* for the Ionian League—*Μιλήσιοι οἱ παρέο[ντ]ες . . . προεβουλεύσαν*.

Other institutions and officials are mentioned only in documents later than 334 B.C. But many of these are proved by their nature to have been of long standing; others are on an Athenian pattern, and therefore probably dated back to the period 450–412 B.C. Among these may be mentioned the following—

The *οἰνοφύλακες*⁴ are entrusted with the copy of a land register. They may have enforced statutes relating to the amount of land to be used as a vineyard.

The *ἐμπορίου ἐπιμεληταί*⁵ probably regulated the entry of merchandise into the town.

The *ἐπιστάται*⁶ were probably chairmen of the

¹ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1914, pp. 75 *sq.*

² *Vide supra*, p. 122.

³ No. 133.

⁴ No. 33.

⁵ No. 140.

⁶ Nos. 37, 146.

ἐκκλησία, but unlike the case of Athens, the chairmanship seems vested in a board.

The *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*¹ kept official records of business done by the *ἐκκλησία* as well as the *βουλή*.

The *πρυτάνεις* introduce a rider.² Elsewhere they appear as executive officials, who allot new citizens to the tribes,³ help to make a treaty on behalf of the *δῆμος*,⁴ and offer public prayers.⁵ They therefore did other kinds of work in addition to that performed by their namesakes at Athens.

¹ Nos. 14, 33, 145.

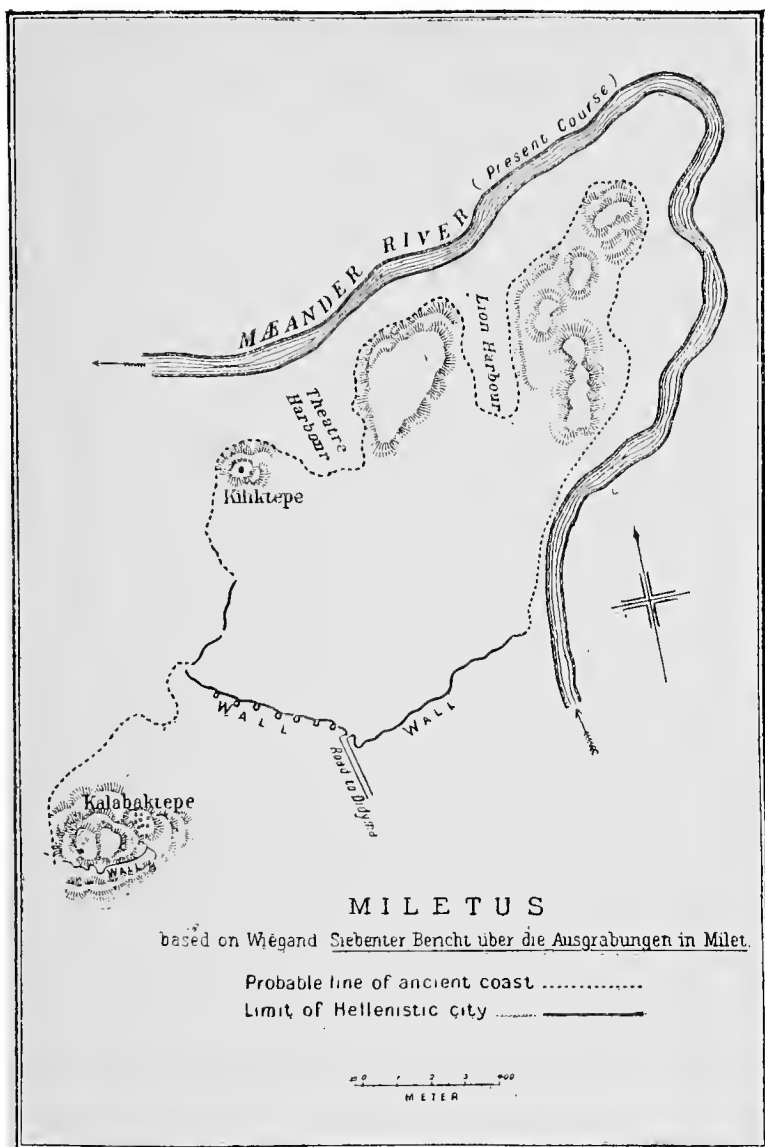
² Nos. 147, 150. *Cp. supra*, p. 146.

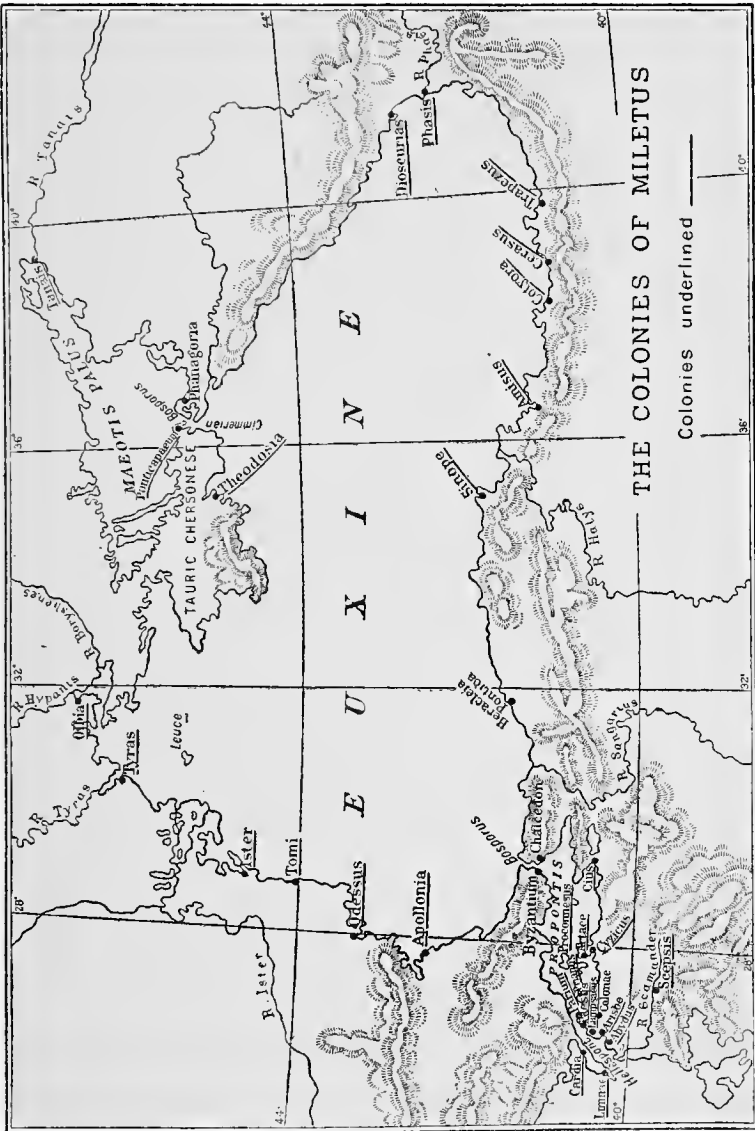
³ Nos. 37, 142, 143.

⁴ No. 149.

⁵ No. 37.







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